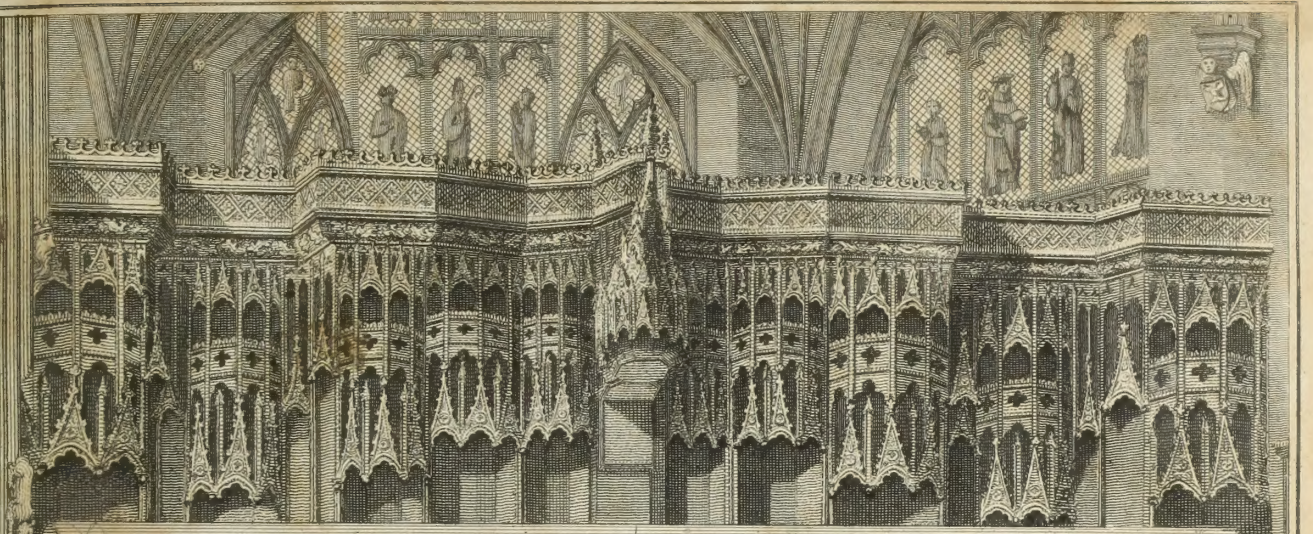

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Altar Screen of the Cathedral, with a view of the City from Oliver's Battery.



The

HISTORY

Civil and Ecclesiastical,

&

Survey of the Antiquities,

OF

WINCHESTER.

By the Rev. John Milner, D.D. F.S.A.

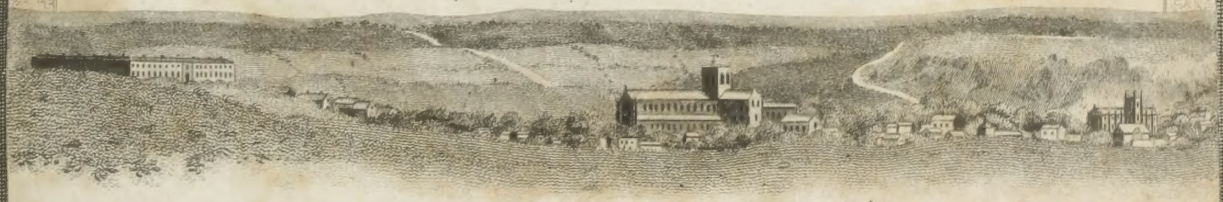
Guintoniam titulis claram gazisque repletam
Noverunt veterum tempora prisca patrum.

Sed jam sacra fames auri jam cœcus habendi
Urbibus egregiis parcere nescit amor.

Alex. Necham, Poeta Sæc. 12.

In Two Volumes.

Vol. I. being the Historical Part.



Winchester,

Printed and sold by Ja.s Robbins, and sold in London *by Cadell and Davies, in the Strand; J. Richardson, Royal Exchange, Keating, Brown, & Keating, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, and Joseph Booker, New Bond Street, 1809.*

J.H. Turner del. *J. Pass sculp.*

The Second Edition, corrected and enlarged.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

COUNTESS CHANDOS TEMPLE.

MADAM,

I WAS no sooner prevailed upon to undertake the task of writing the genuine History and Antiquities of Winchester, than both my judgment and my inclinations pointed out to me the illustrious name, which would best become the present page. It was not, however, until I had obtained permission to this effect, that I actually resolved on inscribing this work to your Ladyship.

Descended from a family, the monuments of whose attachment and munificence to this city adorn its public places, (1) the sole heiress and representative, in all his property and interests, of a father, the late Duke of Chandos, whose name is, at the present day, almost adored in Winchester, and some

(1) The statue of queen Ann, in the front of the Town-hall, was the gift of George Bridges, esq. of Avington-house, in the year 1713. The same gentleman, by his will, bearing date Feb. 17, 1749, bequeathed the sum of 800l. to repair and fit up the city chambers, in St. John's-house, which money was paid and employed accordingly. He made a more valuable present to the nation at large, in his gallant and successful relative, Sir George Bridges Rodney, afterwards Lord Rodney, whom he introduced to the public notice and service. He was the representative of Winchester in seven parliaments, and his portrait is the only one which has the honour of being suspended, with that of our city's royal friend, Charles II. in the great assembly-room.

of whose last thoughts were directed to it, your Ladyship has an hereditary claim to the public homage, and to the private respect and gratitude of every real friend to this city, and more especially of the historian of its ancient glories and virtue.

But this claim, Madam, besides being hereditary, is also direct and personal, being grounded on the benefits which you have actually conferred upon the city, and the attachment and respect which you have expressed for it. The latter I had a particular opportunity of witnessing, when your Ladyship did me the honour to request that I would attend you upon a visit to those sacred and invaluable monuments of antiquity, which, at present, constitute its chief wealth and importance. It is natural for me to seize upon the present opportunity of acquitting myself of that honourable commission by my pen, which an accident prevented me from performing in person.

As it is a proof of gross ignorance, stupid apathy, or base self love, to contemplate, with unconcern, the most important transactions or memorials of past ages, such as the sepulchres in our city of the princes to whom we are indebted for our Christianity, (1) our Monarchy, (2) and our Constitution (3) or to experience no sentiment, either of the sublime or the beautiful, in surveying the wonderful efforts of our religious

(1) Kinegils, whose remains are in one of the mortuary chests in Winchester cathedral. See his history, p. 90, &c. of this work.

(2) The remains of Egbert, who having united the heptarchy into one monarchy, was crowned first king of England in the said cathedral, are in another of those chests.

(3) Alfred's remains are amongst the ruins of Hyde-abbey.

ancestors' art, in their sacred edifices; so, in an age of unbounded dissipation, and amidst the blandishments of youth and fortune, to prove a relish and a preference for such refined and rational pleasures, is the mark of a mind ingenuous, exalted and virtuous in a high degree. To these intellectual gratifications the study of antiquity is or ought always to be subservient. But this noble science is too often disgraced and brought into ridicule by pretended antiquaries, who, too dull for any other branch of literature whatever, spend their lives in minute and uninteresting investigations or enumerations, which are incapable of raising any other emotion than that of disgust, or of emitting a single spark of useful information.

After all, the most excellent branch of ancient learning is that which your Ladyship, together with the illustrious young nobleman, upon whom you have bestowed your hand and your heart, has cultivated with the greatest diligence and success, namely, ancient manners and ancient virtues. Considering themselves as stewards of one supreme lord and master, the grandees of former times conceived that they had other relations with the poor, over whom he had placed them, than merely to receive the produce of their labours. Hence they took effectual care that the labouring hind, who raised the grain, should not himself want bread; that the watchful shepherd, who fed the flock, should not be destitute of clothing; that the village youth should not grow up in vice and ignorance; and that the aged and sick peasant should not want any relief or comfort

which was within the utmost compass of human art or attention to procure; and it was their delight to assist personally in the administration of these their charities. Such, history informs us, were our West Saxon ladies, the Margarets, (1) the Christinas, (2) and the Matildas, (3) of the 12th century, and such the grateful poor, round Avington-house, proclaim their noble mistress to be at the close of the 18th century, before yet she has attained her nineteenth year.

That your Ladyship may long live to enjoy the heartfelt pleasures attending the blessings of the poor and the afflicted, and that your example may excite many others to share the same with you, is the earnest wish of him, who has the honour to remain,

MADAM,

Your Ladyship's most faithful and obedient servant,

JOHN MILNER.

Winchester, April 6, 1798.

(1) St. Margaret, the grand-daughter of Edmund Ironside, married to Malcolm, king of Scotland.

(2) Sister of the above-mentioned, who afterwards became abbess of Rumsey, near Winchester.

(3) The daughter of St. Margaret, brought up in St. Mary's-abbey, in this city, who being married to Henry I. obtained the name of Matilde the good Queen. See her history, in this work, p. 199, 200.

ADVERTISEMENT

CONCERNING

THE SECOND EDITION.

A Second Edition of THE HISTORY OF WINCHESTER being called for, the Author thinks it proper to acquaint the reader with the particulars in which this differs from the former edition.

1st. A copious POSTSCRIPT is annexed to the present edition, in which the several strictures, contained in the Reviews and other works that have been published on the subject of the History, are detailed and discussed. The few real errors which these publications have brought to light, and which are corrected in the work itself, are candidly acknowledged. On the other hand, the numerous objections which originate in the mistaken or prejudiced opinions of the critics, are fairly met, and, it is hoped, solidly answered. A bare enumeration of these critics will shew that the History has been sufficiently noticed, and has gone through a severe ordeal. In what condition it has come out of this fiery trial the Postscript will shew. Of these writers, the principal are, Dr. Sturges, Dr. Hoadly Ashe, the Reviewer in the Hampshire Repository, and the Anti-Jacobin, Monthly, Critical, and British-Critic Reviewers. The present Postscript will be found to contain whatever is most important and worthy of being preserved in the Appendix to this History, subjoined to the first or quarto edition of LETTERS TO A PREBENDARY.

2dly. Several considerable additions are interspersed throughout the work, and particularly amongst the notes; one of these contains observations upon a work lately published, in two 8vo vols. called *British Monachism*. (1)

(1) Vol. II. p. 102.

Another addition consists of a whole new chapter; being a Survey of the most remarkable Modern Monuments in Winchester Cathedral. (1)

3dly. Certain notes, which seemed to be of little importance, are abridged or omitted in this edition; and the whole Preface to the Second Volume is left out, as the substance of it is contained in the Postscript.

4thly. The Style of the whole work has been carefully revised, and (it is hoped) considerably improved.

Lastly. The Plates, which an intelligent Reviewer (2) says, "are so ably executed as to reflect credit upon this or any other work to which they should be annexed," have not only been retouched, but also corrected and improved. Three New Plates are also given in this edition—two of them exhibit the East and West Interior Views of that wonderful fabric, Winchester Cathedral—the other represents the Monuments in the Cathedral of the celebrated Dr. Warton, and of Bishop Hoadly—engraved by Mr. Basire, from improved Drawings of that celebrated Architectural Artist, Mr. James Cave, of Winchester.

(1) Vol. II. ch. 3. The greater part of this chapter was printed a considerable time after the work itself, on two loose sheets, under the title of *A Second Appendix to the History of Winchester.* But, owing to its form, and late appearance, it did not get into public notice. It is also now unavoidably imperfect, as it omits the description of some lately erected Monuments, and other matters contained in the present edition.

(2) The British Critic for April 1800.

Directions for placing the Plates.

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TABLE I.

Ancient Ichnography of the City of Winchester.

No.
1 Cathedral.
2 Original grave and chapel of St. Swithun.
3 Church of St. Grimbald's abbey, alias New Minster.
4444 Offices and enclosure of ditto
5555 Palace of William the Conquerer.
6666 Late enclosure of St. Swithun's priory.
7 Fortified entrance into the enclosure.
8 Charnel-house.
9 St. Mary's chapel belonging to ditto.
10 NORTH GATE OF THE PRIORY.
11 Buttery.
12 Cellarer's store-house.
13 Kitchen, with vestibule over it.
14 Scullery, with Refectory over it.
15 Cloisters.
16 NOVICIATE.
17 17 APARTMENTS FOR GUESTS.
18 Priors quarters.
19 Chapter-house.
20 Dark cloister.
21 INFIRMARY.
22 Brew-house.
23 Mill.
24 Infirmary garden.
25 Workshops for monks.
26 REFECTORY FOR POOR STRANGERS.
27 27 APARTMENTS FOR DITTO.
28 South gate of the priory.
29 Kings-gate.
30 Parish church of St. Swithun.
31 College-street.
32 The Nun's hospital.
33 The first tower and court of College.
34 Middle tower and second court.
35 Chapel.
36 Hall.
37 Cloisters and chapel.
38 La Carité.
39 Wolvesy gates.
40 Passage from the bishop's castle to the cathedral.
41 Wolvesey chapel.
42 Bishop Morley's palace (modern)
43 South-gate.
44 Drawbridge of the castle.
45 Keep of the castle.
46 Entrance into keep.
47 Wall connecting works of the city with the castle.
48 Chapel of St. Stephen, now County Hall.
49 King's-house.
50 Suburb of St. Valery.
51 Church and cemetery of St. Anastasia.
52 St. Mary's in the ditch.
53 West-gate.
54 St. Clement's.
55 All Hallows.
56 St. Mary Odes.
57 St. Margaret's.
58 St. Petrocus's, now St. Thomas's.
59 The Guild Hall.
60 a St. Swithun's.
60 b The duchess of Portsmouth's house (modern).
61 St. Peter's house and porch.
62 St. Peter's de Macello, now the chapel.
63 St. Martin's.
64 St. Michael's.
65 The Market Cross.
66 St. Laurence's.
67 Clobery-house, now the hospital.
68 St. Mary Kalendar's.
69 St. George's.
70 St. Maurice's.
71 The church and convent of the Franciscan friars.
72 The enclosure of ditto.
73 St. Ruel's, alias Rumbold's.
74 The Charnel-house and chapel of the Holy Trinity.
75 The abbey church of St. Mary.
76 Convent of the nuns.
77 Enclosure of ditto.
78 St. Peter's Colebrook.
79 St. Mary's of the Linen-web.
80 Hospital of St. John the Baptist, now St. John's-house.
81 Chapel of ditto.
82 Convent of the Dominicans.
83 Church of ditto.
84 84 Enclosure of ditto.
85 East-gate.
86 ST. PETER'S.
87 St. Peter's Chushul.
88 St. John's of the Mount.
89 St. Giles's-hill.
90 Bubby's-cross.
91 Bourne-gate, alias Durn-gate.
92 Place of combat between Guy and Colbrand.
93 All Hallows.
94 North-gate.
95 St. Mary's.
96 Hyde-abbey.
97 Church of ditto.
98 98 Abbot's house and out-buildings.
99 Palace of Henry the Second.
100 Blackbridge and Wharf.
101 St. Stephen's.
102 St. Elizabeth's college.

TABLE II.

Ichnography of the Environs of Winchester.

1 Winchester.
2 The Castle.
3 St. James's church and burying ground.
4 Road to Rumsey.
5 Road to Old Sarum.
6 Pitt.
7 Oliver's Battery.
8 Church and cemetry of St. Anastasia.
9 Week.
10 Road to Stockbridge.
11 Road to Oxford.
12 Hyde-abbey.
13 St. Bartholomew's Hyde.
14 Road to Silchester and London.
15 Wordie, or Worthy.
16 Winal church and village.
17 St. Giles's hill and chapel.
18 St. Magdalen's hill and chapel, road to Alresford and London.
19 Easton.
20 Avington.
21 Wharf.
22 St. Catherine's hill and chapel.
23 Road to Wickham and Portsmouth.
24 St. Cross hospital.
25 Road to Southampton.
26 Twyford.
27 Church of St. Faith.

TABLE III.

Ichnography of the Cathedral Church.

1 Portico of the nave.
2 Ditto of the side isles.
3 Door into west cloister.
4 Mural monument of bishop Cheney.
5 Grave-stone of bishop Trimnel.
6 Tomb and chantry of William of Wykeham.
7 Tomb and statue of bishop Willis.
8 Grave-stone of bishop Horne.
9 Ditto of prior Kingsmill.
10 Ditto of bishop Watson.
11 Steps under the ancient rood-loft.
12 Bishop Edington's tomb and chantry.
13 Mural monument of Lord Banbury.
14 Door into the east cloister.
15 Door into the sextry or sacristy.
16 Door out of the south transept.
17 Staircase into the monks dormitory.
18 Calefactory.
19 SILKSTEDE'S CHAPEL.
20 VENERABLE CHAPEL.
21 Stone coffin of Hugh Basing.
22 Ditto of another prior.
23 Steps up to the south-east aisle.
24 Steps leading to the choir.
25 Sepulchre of bishop William Giffard.
26 Sepulchre of bishop Walkelin.
27 Monument of bishop Hoadly.
28 Grecian screen.
29 Entrance into the choir.
30 Norman pillars under the great tower.
31 Bishop's throne.
32 Pulpit of choir.
33 Tomb of William Rufus.
34 Sepulchre of bishop Woodlock.
35 Steps up to the sanctuary.
36 Sepulchre of bishop De Blois.
37 High altar.
38 Altar screen.
39 North partition wall, with mortuary chests, &c.
40 South partition wall, with ditto.
41 Door into south isle.
42 Entrance into crypts from the outside.
43 GRAVESTONE OF BISHOP COURTNEY.
44 Bishop Fox's chantry.
45 Capitular chapel.
46 Bishop Gardiner's chantry.
47 Door leading from the infirmary, &c.
48 Cardinal Beaufort's chantry.
49 Ditto of bishop Waynflete.
50 Monument of sir John Clobery.
51 Tomb of bishop de Lucy.
52 Bishop Langton's tomb and chantry.
53 Chapel of the Blessed Virgin.
54 Stalls of ditto.
55 Ancient fresco paintings.
56 Sanctuary and altar.
57 ANGEL GUARDIAN CHAPEL.
58 Tomb of earl of Portland.
59 Sepulchre of prior Silkstede.
60 The Holy Hole.
61 North-east aisle.
62 Sepulchre of Hardicanute.
63 Steps into north transept.
64 BUST OF BISHOP ETHELMAR.
65 Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre.
66 STONE COFFIN OF A CATHEDRAL PRIOR.
67 Altars.
68 Painting of St. Christopher, &c.
69 Enclosed chapels.
70 Monument and figure of a crusader.
71 Sepulchre of bishop Morley.
72 Sepulchral inscription on Col. Boles
73 SEPULCHRE OF BISHOP DE RUPIBUS
74 The ancient Font.
75 GALLERY FOR MINSTRELS.

N. B. The names in small capitals denote the situations or places which are settled by conjectural, not positive proofs.

PREFACE.

A LITTLE more than a twelvemonth ago, the Author was far from imagining that he should ever add to the list of local histories, which appeared to him to be already swelled beyond due bounds. We have now separate histories, not only of most of the counties, cities, and towns of any note in England, but also of innumerable parishes, villages, and hamlets, for most of which we are evidently more indebted to the partiality of the writers for the places of their nativity or residence, than to the celebrity or importance, either ancient or modern, of the places themselves. The first criterion for judging of the utility of such performances, is evidently the materials which the subjects of them afford. If these are sufficiently numerous and important to support a connected and interesting narration, it cannot be wrong to work them up into a history; but to weave the annals of insignificant places, like writing the lives of obscure individuals, out of ordinary and domestic transactions, is to hold them up to the contempt, instead of the admiration of the public.

That Winchester, according to this criterion, is entitled to a separate history and description, will be admitted by those who are not ignorant that it has been, in general, until within a few centuries, the capital of the western part of the kingdom, and sometimes the metropolis of the whole kingdom, and that it actually contains, at the present day, monuments of several of the most important national events which took place during the Saxon and Norman periods. Hence our city has already been the subject of as many particular accounts as perhaps any place within the compass of this island.

When the Author was first applied to by a respectable Bookseller and Printer of this city, to furnish him with a faithful account and description

of Winchester, for the sake of publication, the former works on this subject being either out of print, or not being to be procured by him, he had no other idea than of enlarging and correcting one or other of our late descriptions or histories of it, after having obtained the consent of its proprietor. Upon examining, however, these works in succession, he found them to be, at the same time, so defective and so erroneous, omitting what ought to have been recorded, and supplying the deficiencies with fables, that he could not prevail upon himself to work upon so faulty a foundation as these furnished, and he felt it to be a justice due to our ancient and renowned city, and to the public at large, which had hitherto been abused with imperfect and faulty accounts of Winchester, to draw up its genuine history, and to display its existing antiquities. These are the subjects of the two following volumes. But before he speaks of these, it will be proper to give an account of the different works, relative to Winchester, which have already been published, and to justify the severe censure which he has passed upon those amongst them of a later date.

The most ancient accounts of Winchester, extant in print, are the *Historia Major Wintoniensis*, and the *Annales Wintonienses*, published in 1691, by the learned Henry Wharton, in the first volume of his Anglia Sacra. The former of these was written by Thomas Rudborne, a monk of the cathedral of this city, who flourished in the middle of the 15th century. The Historia Major begins with the foundation of a Christian church at Winchester, under king Lucius, in the second century, and breaks off in the reign of Henry II, in consequence of the manuscripts being incomplete, which the editor made use of. In this work Rudborne cites different authors, much more ancient than himself, particularly Vigilantius and Moracius, whose works were extant in his time, and appear to have related to the antiquities of Winchester. The Annales Wintonienses are also the work of a monk of this city, (1) though his name is not known, and they appear to have been written about the year 1451. The annals begin with the conversion of Kinegils, the first Christian king of the West Saxons, in

(1) Pref. Ang. Sac.

633, (1) and are continued down to 1277. These, with a few other original, though short records, published by the same learned editor, form an invaluable storehouse of information for modern historians of our city; nevertheless, our late writers on this subject have never once named them, nor do they appear to have had recourse to them, any more than if they had never existed. It is unnecessary to observe to persons who are accustomed to the perusal of Monkish chronicles, that the above-mentioned works can only serve as memoirs for a history, not as histories themselves of the times to which they relate, being, upon the whole, vague, jejune, and unconnected, redundant in many particulars, and deficient in others.

A second publication, relating to our city, is *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Winchester*, which is stated in the preface to have been begun by Henry earl of Clarendon, in 1683, and to have been finished by Samuel Gale, gent. in the year in which it was printed, viz. 1715. The authors of this work were men of learning, and equal to the task of giving a complete history of our city, if they had been disposed to do so. But they confined their accounts almost solely to the cathedral; and even upon this subject they are exceedingly concise, except in their collection of epitaphs, which is very copious. There is one point, however, on which Gale enlarges to very little purpose, namely, in attempting to clear up a difficulty, which had no existence but in his own misconception. Having met with a passage in the monkish annalist, concerning a riot in Winchester, in 1264, (2) excited by the lower order of citizens against the monks of the cathedral, in which they burnt down King's-gate, and "the church of St. "Swithun over it," (3) he fancies that the passage refers to the great church of St. Swithun, or the cathedral church, and is at a loss to conceive how the latter could have been so speedily built up again, as he finds it must have been, concluding that the roof alone of it was burnt, to which sense he

(1) Rather in 635.

(2) See Annales Wintonienses, ad dictum annum.

(3) "Portam, quæ vocatur Kingate, cum ecclesia S. Swithuni supra, &c. combusserunt. Ibid.

forces the passage in question to apply; whereas the text expressly speaks of a diminutive parish church, situated in the 13th century, as it is now, over King's-gate. (1) This work is enriched with plates of different subjects in the cathedral, which, however, are far from being true representations of them. Some of them, indeed, as the sides of the font, are so unlike the originals, as to lead us to believe that the draughtsman worked from memory, and not from an actual view of them. The most valuable parts of this little octavo volume, which has long since been out of print, and is become exceedingly rare, are the lists of the charters, belonging to the churches and monasteries of this city, extant in the Tower, and of the ancient priors and the late dignitaries of the cathedral; all which Gale has collected with great diligence, and to which the writer frequently expresses his obligation.

A third account of Winchester, which is published to the world, but in a more solemn manner than by means of the press, are *The City Tables*, erected at St. John's-house, and professing to give an account of all the most remarkable occurrences which have befallen this city since its first foundation. This account appears to have been drawn up some time in the last century, and was contained in a parchment scroll, suspended in the council chamber, until the year 1787, when it was copied and emblazoned, with gilding, on two large tables of wood, which were at first placed in the great assembly room, but afterwards, from their not suiting the general style of its decorations, removed into the council chamber, where they are still displayed. While the writer cordially applauds the zeal of the worthy magistrate, for the fame of our city, who caused this public monument to be transcribed and decorated, after having submitted it to the revisal of an antiquary of high character, he is bound to say of the Tables themselves, that they are a tissue of egregious errors, in matter of fact, chronology, and grammar, not to be paralleled in any public record in the island. These errors the writer has repeatedly pointed out, in the newspapers, in the

(1) See Gale's History, Preface.

Gentleman's Magazine, and in his conversation with the most respectable personages connected with the city; and though his objections have passed current on all these occasions, as likewise with the society of antiquaries, at Somerset-house, where his observations were twice read; yet it has so happened, that our respectable and learned city continues to exhibit a public monument, which would disgrace the most illiterate village in the kingdom.(1) Every reader of common information will agree with the writer in this judgment of the Tables, when he comes to inspect the exact copy of them, in the Appendix to the present work. A great many of the errors in question are copied into the margin of Godson's splendid and valuable map of Winchester, contained in four large sheets.

The author comes now to speak of more recent accounts of Winchester, and such as are more generally known. About forty years ago, (2) a gentleman, not more distinguished by the sublimity of his genius, than by the depth of his learning, the late Rev. Thomas Warton, poet laureate, published *A Description of the City, College, and Cathedral of Winchester*, in 84 duodecimo pages. It is certain that no man in England was better qualified than himself to do justice to the antiquities of a city, to which he had so many ties, and which was so frequently the place of his residence, had he bestowed the pains upon them necessary for this purpose. But his mode of revising the City Tables, alluded to above, shews how inattentive he sometimes was to matters of dull narration, when, soaring on the wings of imagination, he was meditating some immortal song. Thus much is incontestable, that his Description is exceedingly defective and erroneous. Of this our pages will furnish too many instances. But not to leave the reader in suspence concerning so serious a charge made upon a writer of high character, the author will point out one or two of these mistakes, which he apprehends to be of such a nature, as to throw an air of credibility on the accusation at large. The writer, in his second paragraph, speaking

(1) Soon after the first edition of this work, the errors in question were corrected, in conformity with the suggestions of the author. See the note to the Appendix.

(2) There is no date affixed to this publication.

of the walls of Winchester, gives the following account of them:—"It is said to have been first fortified with walls by Guidorius, Anno Dom. 179. The present walls are reported to have been erected by Molcutius Dunwallo, Anno Dom. 341." What will the reader now think of the attention and study bestowed upon this description of our city, when he is informed that, according to all the ancient chroniclers, who adopt that succession of kings, to which the above-mentioned names belong, the reign of Guiderius, though it was anterior to the date here assigned to it, by 150 years, nevertheless was posterior to that of Mulmutius Dunwallo, by several centuries, the former being the 20th on the list of British kings since Brutus, and the latter the 69th. (1) A less egregious, though a no less pardonable anacronism, is where this writer assigns the year 611 as the æra of building our cathedral, by our first Christian king Kinegils, (2) whereas the gospel was not preached in the West Saxon kingdom, nor its prince converted, until twenty-four years later. (3) Another more palpable instance of absence of mind, in this writer, is where he assigns two different spots in our cathedral, widely apart from each other, for the burial place of bishop Edington, namely, in page 78, the Portland chapel, and in page 83, the bishop's own chantry. Finally, not to multiply proofs of the charge above stated, our writer, amongst other transactions which he ascribes to Winchester, for which there is no foundation in history, relates the circumstances of a pretended siege of it by the French, in the year 1377, (4) having somehow or other mistaken Winchelsea for Winchester. It is with regret that the author points out these mistakes in a writer for whom, when alive, he felt both a respect and a regard:—*Indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.* Indeed this work appears to have been extorted by the importunity of booksellers; and it is plain that our poet and antiquary did not choose to stake his credit on its merits, as he withheld his name from it. As to those compositions to which that respectable name actually appears, particularly The History of English Poetry, the

(1) Renulph, Diceto Hist. Compend. de Reg. Brit. Mat. West. Flores Hist.
(2) Viz. p. 62. (3) Chron. Sax. (4) P. 21. (5) Horace.

author has read them not only with satisfaction, but also with benefit, as will be seen in the following pages.

The work which is particularly known under the name of *The History of Winchester*, consists of two volumes in duodecimo, one of 237, the other of 299 pages, published in 1773, and till of late was supposed to have been written by the late Rev. Mr. Wavel, assisted by other gentlemen. As the friends of this gentleman, now that the errors of the work in question have been detected, deny him to have been the author of it; and as no other person can be found to lay any claim to it, the present writer is content to quote it under the name of *The Anonymous History*. A slight attention to the first paragraph of this history will enable the reader to form an idea of its general merits. The historian begins his task with a dissertation on the several names which our city has borne at different periods. He says, "it was called by the Britons *Caer Givent*, &c." (1) which name he uniformly applies to it during the British period. (2) Now the truth is, the original historians never once call it by this name, but always either *Caer Gwent*, or *Caer Guent*. (3) This writer is equally unfortunate in the Saxon name, which he ascribes to Winchester. After having been at the trouble of procuring Saxon characters, for the sake of greater accuracy, he has not hit upon any one of the modes, in which it stands in original authors. (4) Finally, he says it was called, "by the monkish chronologers, *Ventanus*, *Wentanus*, ut in vita Anselmi, fol. 4, *quartus a Dunstano Alphegus Wentanus Episcopus*, &c." This proof that Winchester was formerly called Wentanus, is really below criticism, and seems to argue that the writer did not understand the difference between a noun substantive and a noun adjective. In his second paragraph, the historian proceeds to copy the errors of Warton above stated, concerning the first building of the city walls by Guiderius, and a subsequent erection of them by Mulmutius, taking care to copy even the errors of his press. When, however, he comes to his

(1) Vol. I, p. 1. (2) Vol. II, p. 2, 3.

(3) Nennius, Hist. Brit. Rudborne, Hist. Maj. Wint. Higden. Polychron.

(4) See p. 71 of this work.

second volume, he makes Mulmutius reign in the year of the world 3528, and Guiderius in the year of Christ 47; (1) which, without being accurate, is indeed coming nearer the truth, but at the same time is a flat contradiction of his former statement. The fact is, in his first volume he servilely copies Warton; and, in his second, blindly follows Trussel, without appearing to be even sensible of the opposition there is frequently between them. This insensibility is so great, that in giving an account of the cathedral priory of St. Swithun, he transcribes, at full length, and applies to it a charter, (2) the very terms of which imply, that it was granted to a different convent, namely, to the new monastery, (3) afterwards removed to Hyde. In like manner, speaking of king Henry II, he says, that "in 1176 he caused his eldest son to be christened in this city." This was four years after the latter had been crowned, with his wife Margaret, in our city, (4) and even subsequent to different transactions, in which the writer himself had mentioned prince Henry and his younger brother as being concerned. (5) Many other errors of this historian, equally flagrant, are pointed out in the following pages, but it would require a whole volume to detect them all.

It is hardly worth while mentioning, that one or more pamphlets, under the title of *The Winchester Guide*, have been published, being mere extracts of the former work, and of course adopting all the errors which that contains, in the passages which are copied into them.

From this account of the former histories and descriptions of Winchester, the little justice that has hitherto been done to it will readily appear, and it will be admitted that both the credit of our venerable city, and the truth of history, require that a full and genuine account of a place so famous in ancient story should be laid before the public. Whether the present History and Survey are calculated or not to do justice to this subject, it is not for the author to judge, but rather to give an account of the

(1) Vol. II, p. 1, 2. (2) Vol. II. p. 22. (3) P. 24.
(3) Viz. A.D. 1172. Annal. Wint. (5) Vol. II, p. 58, 59.

materials which he has made use of, and the rules which he has followed in composing them.

On the first of these heads it is not necessary for the author to say much, in consequence of his care in referring to his vouchers for most facts of importance which he has mentioned, and even in quoting their words, wherever these appeared controvertible in their meaning, or peculiarly energetic or beautiful. Though he has not been able to procure all the books which he had occasion for, yet it will appear that he has read and studied a considerable number of them, particularly of those which relate to the period of Winchester's greatness. He has consulted the records of the different corporate bodies, belonging to this city, where they seemed to promise any particular information; and he has had, through the favour of John Duthy, esq. the use of Trussel's MSS. written in the reign of James I. being the same that Gibson refers to, in his translation of Camden, (1) which, amongst a chaos of indigested and erroneous matter, contain many useful points of intelligence.

Amidst the various accounts of the transactions or characters, which occur in different writers, the author has used his best judgment in appreciating the respective merits of the latter. Thus he pays much more attention to Cæsar's description of the ancient Britons, than to those of any other classical historian, on account of the care which he always took, and the interest which he evidently had, in gaining the best information, concerning those people with whom he had any relation, either of war or peace; in a word, because Cæsar related what he saw, whilst the other Latin and Greek authors reported what they had heard from a distance. Amongst the British writers, he gives infinitely the most credit, or rather he gives an implicit credit, to the mournful Gildas, because his pen was not infected with the prevailing vanity of his countrymen, his object being rather to humble and convert them, than to flatter and please them. Amongst the Saxon authors, he relies, in the first place, on the grave

(1) In his catalogue of books and treatises, relating to the antiquities of Hampshire.

narration of *the friend of truth*, as Venerable Bede has deserved to be named, (1) who, besides his character for veracity, points out the authentic sources from which he has collected his history. (2) The Saxon Chronicle, being considered by the learned, as an approved public record, (3), is of the first authority, in settling dates and other matters that are disputed. But, not to launch out into a dissertation, the author concurs in the sentiment of sir Henry Savile, (5) that the monkish historian, William of Malmsbury, was, by far, the most learned and intelligent historian of the refined and studious period in which he lived; (5) perhaps it may be true to add, of all succeeding times down to the present.

With respect to the early history of this island, and the wars carried on there by the Romans, which are so differently related by the historians of the conquerors and the conquered, the author has not hastily taken his part, as most writers do; Warton, Anonymous, Trussel, Stow, and many others blindly following the British accounts; whilst Camden, Carte, Hume, and most other modern writers, despise these, and only pay attention to what is reported by the classical writers. On the contrary, he has carefully examined how far this opposition is real, and how far it is apparent only. Hence, by making due allowances for national vanity and poetical embellishments, for the diversity of names in the same person or place, and for the identity of name in different persons or places; finally, for the fastidiousness and carelessness of elegant authors, in describing the manners or transactions of obscure and distant barbarians, (6) it appears to him that many accounts, which at first sight seem widely distant from one

(1) Camden.
(2) In. Pref. Ecc. Hist. Gent. Ang.
(3) Gibson, in Prefat.
(4) In Epist. Dedicat. Rerum. Angl. Script.
(5) Viz. the reign of Henry II.

(6) This appears in the account which Tacitus gives of the Jews, Hist. l. v; likewise in what he says of the Christians, in the reign of Nero:---" Christianos per flagitia invisos."....
" haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio generis humani convicti sunt." Annal. l. xv.
---Another classical writer, who often mentions the affairs of Britain, gives the following blind and prejudiced account of the Christians:---" Judæos, auctore Chresto, assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit." Suetonius, in Tib. Claud. c. xxv.

another, may, to a certain point, be brought to agree. The rule, however, which has enabled him to adopt many circumstances of the British history, since the invasion of Julius Cæsar, he could not, with any security, carry back into the dark and uncertain times before that period. The same method of reconciliation the author has attempted upon the different narrations of the British and Saxon writers, concerning the wars between their respective ancestors, particularly in what relates to Arthur's reign.

As to the general manner of writing a local history, this the author thinks ought not to be different from that which is laid down by the ablest judges for writing history in common, (1) namely, that a regular series of events should be kept up, and that the motives, causes, consequences, and chief circumstances of such events should be pointed out; as a bare rehearsal of insulated facts cannot afford either much instruction or much pleasure. In like manner, it is impossible to present a just and adequate idea of any particular city or place, at a certain period of time, without some general notion of the state of the kingdom or empire to which the same belongs, and of the transactions that are then going forward in it. This enlarged manner of writing the history of our city, in particular, is the more necessary, as, having been for so many ages the capital and seat of government of the most considerable kingdom in the island, the history of Winchester unavoidably becomes, in a great measure, the history of the Gewissi, or West Saxons. One inconveniency, however, of this plan has been, that the work has swelled to its present size, far beyond what was either desired or foreseen. After all, the author will not deny that he has launched out into several dissertations, which do not strictly belong to his subject; nevertheless, if he has been led aside on these occasions, out of his strait way, it has been for the sake of pointing out something new, of illustrating something obscure, or of establishing something doubtful or disputed. Should he be condemned for these digressions,

(1) "Si tollas ex historia *quare*, *quomodo*, *quo sine* quidquid fuerit actum, & an ex ratione res gesta successerit: quicquid reliquum est, ludicrum magis est quam documentum." Camden, Annal. ex Polybio.

by some readers, admitting that he has not totally failed in the object of them, he is sure of being pardoned by others.

He has been copious in his account of the establishment and progress of religion, in this city and neighbourhood, during the Saxon period, and of the different changes which took place in it there, during the two centuries preceding our own, because he has undertaken to write an ecclesiastical, as well as a civil history, and because the temporal condition of Winchester has, at all times, been particularly connected with the situation of its church establishment. In speaking, however, of the latter of these periods, he has thought it necessary to be very particular in the choice of his authorities, and very exact in referring to them; accordingly he has hardly quoted any but the most approved and orthodox historians of the established church, such as Heylyn, Camden, Stow, Wood, Echard, and Collier, except in certain facts of a less public nature, where he has been obliged to have recourse to Catholic writers. By the same rule, in his account of the Presbyterians and Quakers, he has preferred the authority of their own writers and advocates.

But the chief rule of all others, by which the author professes to be guided, is that prescribed to every historian by Tully:—*Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.* If he has a vanity, it is in thinking that he has observed this rule better than many of his cotemporary writers, who equally profess to be guided by it. The truth is, those who are supposed to lead the public opinion, namely, authors, are much more frequently led by it. Subsisting on popular applause, as Tertullian describes the condition of the ancient philosophers, (1) few public writers have the courage to oppose the favourite errors and prejudices of mankind, being conscious that, on such occasions, where they do not make converts to their opinion, they are sure of making enemies to themselves. With respect to the author himself, having little expectation of gaining applause, and being sure of not acquiring profit by his laborious task, the chief plea-

(1) Animalia popularis auræ.

sure which has cheered and supported him under it, has been that which is attached to the pursuit and attainment of truth, as it has appeared to him on the several subjects of his narration and disquisition. Hence, in conformity with the former rule, he has sometimes dared to oppose the greatest authorities in their respective studies, where it appeared that they were evidently in the wrong; for example, Camden, Leland, and Gibson, in points of topography; Carte, Rapin, and Hume, in those of history; Stephens, Warton, and Lowth, in the particular account of our cathedral and city; but what is a much bolder attempt, he has not been afraid of thwarting many deep rooted opinions of the present age, in matters that are directly or remotely connected with their religion and their politics.

After all, the author is far from supposing himself exempt from the common infirmity of human nature, *errare humanum est;* he takes it for granted, that in a work so extensive, and comprehending such various subjects as the present History and Survey, he must necessarily have fallen into several mistakes, which, though imperceptible to him, others may detect. Hence he pledges himself not only to abandon, but also to disavow all such errors, whether they regard facts or opinions, of whatever nature they may be, or to whatever extent they may go, as are pointed out to him with candour, and proved by solid arguments. All that he deprecates is general and vague censure. If he is chastised, let him know and be made sensible of his fault in a distinct manner. To such enlightened criticism he will bow with respect; but if he finds himself charged, in general terms, with ignorance, bigotry, credulity, superstition, and presumption, he will only consider such language as a proof that his critic is of a different opinion from himself, but that the grounds of it will not bear a thorough discussion.

What has here been said, relates more immediately to the first volume, or the historical part of the present work. The second volume, consisting of the Survey, which is expected to appear in the course of a very few months, though perhaps more generally interesting to the public, will be less liable to controversy. The author having, in the former part, related the most remarkable events, which have taken place in this ancient city,

proceeds, in his latter part, to point out the memorials of them that actually exist there, and to describe the antiquities of Winchester in general. This Survey, being made in a regular tour, and accompanied with proper ichnographical plans, will enable the curious stranger, who visits Winchester, to be his own Cicerone in viewing the said antiquities, and even the reader, at a distance, to form a distinct idea of them.

Notice concerning the Engravings.

The Frontispiece to the first volume consists of the upper part of the altar screen of Winchester cathedral, being the richest and most exquisite work of the kind known to exist in England. At the bottom of the scroll is a south-west view of Winchester, taken from Oliver Cromwell's battery, at the distance of about two miles from the city.

The plate of the Cathedral exhibits the whole length of that fabric, from the Lady chapel at the east end, to the extremity of the west end, shewing the different styles of architecture in which it is constructed, from the reign of the Conqueror down to that of Henry VIII. The view is taken from the site of the ancient abbey of St. Mary. To render it, however, perfect, there was a necessity of leaving out certain walls and trees, which cover part of the original.

The view of the College is taken from the gates of Wolvesey palace, and is copied from a drawing in the possession of the Bishop of Gloucester, the present Warden, made by Thomas Eagles, esq. of Bristol. The three statues in the middle tower are those of the patroness of the college, the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the centre, of the angel Gabriel saluting her, on one hand, and of the founder William of Wykeham, on his knees, imploring her prayers, on the other. The arms and motto of the latter are copied from the ancient lavatory in the interior court. The remaining view is that of the entrance into the college library, in the area of the cloisters, formerly an ancient chapel.

The view of the King's House, with the offices and gardens, as it was intended to have been finished by Charles II, is supposed to be taken from the tower of the cathedral. This has been copied from a coloured drawing,

made by the architect himself, sir Christopher Wren, which, together with a ground plan of the building, was long preserved at Brambridge-house, near Winchester, the seat formerly of the Wells family, and latterly of Walter Smythe, esq. These having, of late years, been neglected, the plan was totally destroyed, and the elevation much defaced. However, by the great attention of the draughtsman, Mr. James Cave, the whole of the buildings and grounds has been traced out in a satisfactory manner, except the middle cupola, which is supplied from the recollection of Mr. Cave, senior, who long had the drawing, when perfect, in his custody. The equestrian statue has also been added, there being no statue in the original drawing, though there is an area, which seems designed for such an ornament. The east and west views of the ancient Castle of Winchester have been drawn under the author's directions, from the slight sketch of that fortress in Speed's Chorography, from an attentive consideration of the ruins, ditches, and situation of the same, from the discoveries that were made in digging on the spot, for that express purpose, during several weeks in the year 1797, and from certain hints that occur in ancient writers concerning it.

The Miscellaneous Plate consists of the City Cross, restored to its original state, and of twenty-one other curious antiques, which are there mentioned. The two sides of the antient Font are exhibited, in order to illustrate the explanation, that will be given in the second volume, of those hitherto unintelligible hieroglyphics.

The plates of volume II, which will be more numerous, and not less interesting than those in the present volume, will be therein noticed.

The author was favoured with the drawing of the frontispiece by colonel Turner, of the Guards; a gentleman, who, having occasion for the use of his pencil, in the scientific manner in which he studies the military art, sometimes makes use of it in copying specimens of ancient architecture, which no one understands better than he does. The rest of the drawings have been made by Mr. James Cave, of Winchester; a young artist of great ingenuity and unwearied application. The engravings are executed by Mr. Pass, of Pentonville, near London.

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PART I.

THE HISTORY, ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL,

OF

WINCHESTER.

CHAP. I.

Foundation of Winchester by the Celtic Britons.—Manners and Religion of its first Inhabitants.—Druidical Monuments remaining in it.—Subdued and inhabited by the Belgæ.—Name and Condition of the City under this People.

WITHOUT having recourse to romantic legends, or traditionary songs, it is a sufficient commendation of the antiquity of Winchester, that it extends beyonds the reach of every certain and authentic record, and is lost in the mist which envelopes the first population of this island.

We have been told by former historians, (1) that this city was built by a king of Britain, named Ludor Rous Hudibrass, 892 years before the birth of Christ, (2) or 139 years before the foundation of Rome. (3)

(1) Rev. Thomas Warton's Description of the City, &c. of Winchester.—History and Antiquities of Winchester, 2 vols. 12mo.—Tables of Winchester, in the City Chambers.—Godson's Map.—Trussel's MSS.—Also Galfrid. Monumet. Mat. West, &c.

(2) Warton, p. 1.—Hist. of Winchester, vol. I. p. 1.

(3) The computation of these modern writers, according to their own authorities, is erroneous, and much too low. Mat. West. makes Hudibrass contemporary with Solomon; vide Æt. Quart.

But the very existence of such a king as the above named, rests upon no better foundation than certain romantic tales, (1) invented fifteen hundred years after the period in question, by British writers, (2) in order to prove that their ancestors, no less than the Romans, were descended from the heroes of Troy, whose history itself is perhaps only fabulous. (3) We cannot admit, as a real historical fact, that Winchester was founded by this pretended monarch of our island, without also believing that London was

(1) It is plain that the aboriginal Britons, at Cæsar's invasion, had no pretensions to a Trojan ancestry; their boast, on the contrary, was, that they were *Terræ Filii*, born of the earth, as was the boast of the Germans also, who worshipped the earth as a Deity; and who, like the Gauls, boasted of their being the children of Dis or Pluto. De Bello Gallico, l. vi. ---" Britanniæ pars interior ab iis colitur, quos natos in insulâ ipsi memoriâ proditum dicunt." De Bello Gall. l. v. See also Borlase's Cornwall, p. 18, 20.---So late as the time of Gildas, in the sixth century, the most ancient as well as the most judicious of the British historians, whose works have reached us, this tale was either unknown or disregarded by men of learning. Accordingly he professes to write his history, not from domestic records, which, he says, were destroyed, or carried away, but from the relations of foreign writers. See Hist. Gildæ. p. 2. ed. Thom. Gale. On the contrary, Nennius (who, like Gildas, was successively a monk and an abbot of the famous monastery of Bangor, and who wrote in the seventh century, gives the whole pedigree of Bruto or Brito, the supposed first King of this island, up to Æneas, and to Jupiter himself. The same author also gives the substance of the romantic exploits of king Arthur, which Geoffry of Monmouth published in detail seven centuries afterwards. This fact, which has escaped the observation of many writers, vindicates the last mentioned from the charge of forgery, which has been so often brought against him.

(2) It is true, however, that many ancient English authors, as Mat. West. Diceto, Huntingdon, Higden, have given their credit and support to these fables.

(3) The learned authors, who of late years have proved that the Pagan mythology in general, and the early history of Egypt in particular, related by Herodotus, the father of history, as he is called, is no more than a metamorphosis of certain parts in the book of Genesis, have also brought plausible arguments to shew that the substance of the Iliad of Homer concerning the siege of Troy, and the immortal heroes engaged therein, on both sides, is no other than certain altered and misapplied stories relating to the war of the ten tribes against the tribe of Benjamin. See *Histoire Veritable des Temps Fabuleux*, par L'Abbé Rocher de Guerin; and *Herodote Historien du Peuple Hebreu sans le sçavoir*, par L'Abbé Bonnaud.

built, as a substitute for the ancient Troy, by a supposed great grandson of Æneas, called Brutus, after having conquered all Greece and the greatest part of Gaul; (1) and that Bath was built by Bladud, the son and successor of our Hudibrass, and enriched with the inextinguishable fire of Minerva, (2) with many other fables, equally romantic, which all rest on the same authority.

Hudibrass is stated to have been the eighth king in succession from the first settler Brutus. The next brought in to adorn the history of Winchester, by its late historians, is Dunwallo Mulmutius, who is placed the twentieth in the list of royalty, and represented as contemporary with Darius of Persia. (3) He is said to have erected the walls of this city, (4) and having made himself sole monarch of the island, and crowned himself with a crown of gold, to have convoked hither all his nobles, where by their common consent the Mulmutian laws were enacted. (5) That there existed, at some remote period, a legislator of the name of Mulmutius, who devised the salutary and wise laws so celebrated in our history, (6) is highly probable; that the same prince adopted the use of a golden crown, and assembled the states of the whole island, in some part of it, are also facts which have been reported of him by a well known British historian, (7) and his English followers; but that these events took place at Winchester, there is no ancient authority whatsoever for asserting. Indeed the facts

(1) Galfrid. Monumet.—Chron.—Mat. West. Æt. 1.—Hen. Huntingdon, Hist. l. 1.—Polychronicon, l. 11, &c.

(2) Mat. West. Æt. iv.—Polychron. l. 11.

(3) Galfrid.—Rudb. Dicet.—De Reg. Brit.—Mat. West. Æt. v.

(4) Rev. Thomas Warton's Description of Winchester, p. 2.

(5) Hist. of Winchester, vol. II, p. 2.—Trussel's MSS.

(6) They were translated into Latin by Gildas, and into English by king Alfred. Rudborn, Hist. Maj. Higden.—"Leges Molmutianæ usque hodie inter Anglos celebrantur." Mat. West.—The most noted of these laws were those which granted the right of sanctuary to temples, highways, and ploughs; laws which, however noxious in a civilized and well regulated state, were highly beneficial amongst a barbarous, vindictive, and divided nation.

(7) Geoffry of Monmouth.

related are in themselves improbable; as we have unquestionable proofs that the Britons in general, several ages after the date here assigned, were found to be in a state of barbarism, without any other defence to their towns, than a mound of earth and a trench, (1) being subject to a variety of petty chieftains, who were almost always at war with each other, and using brass and iron for their precious metals. (2)

After our city is stripped of all these false honours, she will still retain a well founded claim to as high antiquity, as perhaps any other city within the compass of the island. It is clear, both from argument and authority, (3) that South Britain at least was first peopled from the opposite coast of Gaul, and particularly from the Armorican coast of the Celtic Gauls, whom in language, manners, and religion they so much resembled; (4) that the southern coast was first inhabited, and that population gradually spread itself from thence into other parts of the country. (5) This being so, and the

(1) Cæsar, de Bello Gall.

(2) " Utuntur aut ære aut annulis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo. De Bell. Gall. l. v.—" In Britannia nil neque auri neque argenti." Cic. Ep. l. VII.—" Etiam illud jam cognitum est neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illâ insulâ." Cic. Epist. ad Attic.—" Fert Britannia aurum & argentum pretium victoriæ." Tacit. Vita Agric.—This last passage proves that the Britons, within a century and a half after their discovery by the Romans, had been excited to a diligent examination of the contents of their mines and their rivers.

(3) Cæsar gives no opinion of his own concerning the first inhabitants of Britain, he only reports their own accounts, which were so agreeable to their superstition, and to their prejudices against the new colonies from Belgium. Tacitus having considered this matter, concludes as follows:—" In universum æstimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est." Bede says:—" In primis hæc insula Britones solum, a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit, qui de *Tractu Armoricano*, ut fertur, Britanniam advecti, australes sibi partes illius vindicarunt." The same is the sense of the Saxon Chronicle, according to its true reading; as, also, amongst modern writers, of Camden—Borlase, Hist. of Cornwall—Whitaker, Hist. of Manchester, &c.

(4) Cæsar, Tacitus, &c.

(5) " Cum plurimam insulæ partem *(incipientes ab austro)* Britones possedissent, &c. Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. I. c. I.

relative situation of the twenty-eight original cities of Britain considered, (1) we can have no difficulty in pronouncing, that the first Celtic settlers, embarking at the nearest Armorican port to Britain (that of the Unelli, or Cherburg, (2) from the vicinity of which they must often have seen the white cliffs of the Isle of Wight,) landed and established themselves at Caer Peris, or Portchester, the only ancient city which is actually on this coast. From thence proceeding up the country in a north-west direction, they could not overlook that beautiful and commodious spot, which possessed the several advantages within itself, or close to it, of a well watered valley, and of fertile fields, for their own support, and that of their valuable flocks; of extensive downs interspersed with covers proper for the chace; (3) and of shady forests, (4) necessary for defence, and for the mysterious rites of the Druidical religion. Here then they made their chief settlement on the southern coast, which, from the chalky cliffs that surround and overhang it, they called *Caer Gwent*, signifying in their language (one of the most ancient in the world) *the White City;* and by this name it is recognized in the most ancient writers, domestic and foreign, who have left any account of the state of Britain. (5) From this city seemed to have proceeded the colonies which founded *Caer Segent*, Silchester—*Caer Dorm*, Dorchester in Oxfordshire—and *Caer Paladgin*, Shaftesbury. (6)

(1) Gildas, Hist. c. I.—Nennius, Hist. c. LXV.—Bede, Hist. c. I.—Rudb. Hist. Major. c. II.

(2) These formed a part of that maritime confederacy which Cæsar could not subdue but by means of a fleet. Bell. Gall. l. III.

(3) " Vita omnis in venationibus." Cæs. Bell. Gall. l. VI.

(4) The forests, indeed, round this city, have been destroyed, as cultivation increased; but authority proves that there must have been much wood there, and experience proves that the soil in general is favourable to its growth.

(5) Nennius ut supra.—Rudb. ex. Girald. Cornub, &c.—Claudius Ptolemy, the Greek Geographer, l. VIII. c. 2, calls it Ο'ΥΕΝΤΑ, with the distinctive character of ΠΟΛΙΣ, or a city. Antonius, the Roman author of the Itinerarium, writes it *Venta*.

(6) Auctores ut supra.—N.B. The word *Caer*, or *Cert*, for a city, equally enters into the composition of many ancient Persian cities, as Tryganocerta, &c. The resemblance between many of the eastern words, as well as manners, and those of the Celts, Gaels or Gauls, is very striking.

That the name of *City*, however, may not impose upon the reader, it is necessary to give him an idea of the state of Caer Gwent, and of its inhabitants, at the period in question, and during several centuries afterwards. It was then no more than a collection of long cabins, built of mud, and covered with reeds, (1) in each of which a number of families herded together, with so little order and decorum, as to induce a belief, amongst foreigners, of the existence of a community of wives amongst them. (2) These cabins were, in a great measure, sheltered by the overspreading boughs of the native forest, in which situation our British cities were invariably built. (3) Except where a river afforded them protection and defence, the whole was surrounded with a rampart and a ditch, (4) which secured the inhabitants from the insults of other tribes, whom, by force and terror, they kept at the greatest distance, in order to prevent their establishing any other city in their neighbourhood. (5) The adjoining fields were devoted to the fattening of their flocks and herds; on the flesh and the milk of which, with the addition of the animals which they killed in hunting, they entirely subsisted; being unacquainted with the luxury of bread, and averse to the labour of tillage. (6) Their only dress was a hide thrown over their shoulders, by way of cloak, to guard them from the cold, which was fastened, at the neck, with a metal broach, or a wooden skewer. (7) In the mean time, the finery of both sexes

(1) "Ædificia sunt Gallicis consimilia." Cæs. De Bell. Gall. l. v. Diod. Sicul.

(2) "Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes." Ib.—Carte, vol. I, p. 72. vindicates them from the infamy of this promiscuous concubinage.

(3) "Urbium loco sunt ipsis nemora. Arboribus enim dejectis ubi magnum circulum sepserunt, sibi casas, pecori stabula condunt." Strabo, ex. version.

(4) "Oppidum Britanni vocant quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt," Cæs. ib.

(5) "Civitatibus maxima laus est quam latissimas circum se, vastatis finibus, solitudines habere." Cæs. de Bell. Gall. l. vi.

(6) "Interiores (that is the original Britons) frumenta non serunt sed lacte & carne vivunt." Id. l. v.

(7) "Pellibus sunt vestiti." Cæs. De Bell. Gall. l. v.—"Tegmen omne sagum, fibulâ, aut, si desit, spinâ consertum, cæteri intecti." Tacit.—N. B. A few circumstances of this description, necessary for explaining the customs of the Britons, are borrowed from the description of the kindred tribes in Gaul.

consisted in the iron chains which they wore about their necks and waists; (1) with a sword, (2) or battle axe, sometimes made of brass, and sometimes of stone, hanging by their naked sides; (3) but their principal ornaments consisted in the figures of different animals, or other substances, which they impressed, or tatooed, on every part of their bodies, with the blue infusion of their native woad, and ostentatiously displayed in the field of battle, and on other public occasions. (4)

If the manners of our barbarous and unenlightened predecessors were disgusting, their religion was still more horrible. This was the general Paganism of other Gentile nations, but moulded into a peculiar form by the Celtic Druids; who, from having their chief colleges (5) and temples (6) for learning and for practising their mysterious rites in Britain, were too hastily supposed to have invented them in our island. (7) No people were more addicted to religion, but the objects of it were peculiarly absurd—the Oak and the Misletoe, (8) the *Logan*, or Rocking Stone, and the *Tolmen*, or Oracular Stone, (9) They firmly maintained the immortality of the soul, but so far abused this doctrine, as to consume, with the bodies of the deceased, whatever had been most necessary and dear to them in life;

(1) " (Neque enim vestis usum cognorunt, sed ventrem atque, cervicem ferro cingunt, ornamentum id esse ac divitiarum argumentum existimantes perinde ac aurum cæteri barbari." Herod. l. III. ex. Interp. Polit.

(2) " Gladio nudis corporibus pendente." Id.

(3) These tomahawks are exceedingly common in the collections of the curious, and are called *Celts*.

(4) " Quin ipsa notant corpora picturâ variâ & omnifariis formis animalium, quocirca neque induuntur, ne picturam corporis adoperiant." Id.—" Omnes Britanni vitro se inficiunt, atque hoc horribiliores sunt in pugnâ aspectu." Cæs. l. v.—" Britanniorum conjuges nurusque glasto toto corpore oblitæ," &c. Plin. l. XXII. c. I.

(5) These in latter times were removed into Anglesea. Tacit. Agric.

(6) At Stonehenge, Abury Rollright, &c.

(7) Disciplina (Druidum) in Britanniâ reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur. Et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt plerumque illuc, discendi causâ proficiscuntur." Cæs. l. VI.

(8) Pliny. Hist. Nat. l. XXVI. (9) Borlase's Cornwall.

not only their clothes and armour, their dogs and horses, but also their servants and dependants, (1) in order that these might accompany them in that new state of existence into which they had launched. (2) They retained from the eastern patriarchs the tenet and practice of expiatory sacrifice; but, like the worshippers of Moloch, in the vale of Hinnom, (3) they held no victim to be so acceptable to their deities, or so propitiatory, as man. One instance of their superstitious cruelty exceeds all that we read of the Ammonites, and indeed of all ancient and modern Heathens, who have delighted in human sacrifices. It was their custom, on certain occasions, to build up of basket-work and straw, an enormously large figure, which seems to have represented the God Saturn. This they filled with a great number of living men, (4) together with beasts of every kind, (5) and a sufficient quantity of fuel. They then set fire to the whole; the raging flames of which, together with the mingled shrieks of the tortured men, the howlings of the enraged beasts, the shouts of the Druids, and the sound of their trumpets, present an idea, which can only be equalled by that which we are taught to form of the infernal regions, and dispose us to believe what Pliny relates of the actors in this scene, that they were accustomed even to taste the scorched flesh of the human victims, whom they had thus immolated. (6)

(1) " Omnia quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia; ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes una cremabantur." Cæs. l. vi.

(2) iv alias ii Kings, cxxiii. v. 10.

(3) Solinus, Dio. " Pro victimis homines immolant aut se immolaturos vovent, administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur, quod pro vita hominis nisi vita hominis reddatur, non posse aliter Deorum numen placari arbitrantur." Cæs. l. vi.

(4) " Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent, quibus succensis, circumventi flamma exanimantur homines." Cæs. l. vi.

(5) " Magnam etiam è fæno statuam apparentes, in eamque lignis pecudibus et omnis generis bestiis et hominibus conjectis holocaustum faciebant." Strabo, l. iv. ex vers. Lat.

(6) Lib. xxx. c. i.—N. B. In different places on the opposite side of the Channel, where we are assured, by the authority quoted, that these horrid rites prevailed, amongst the rest at Dunkirk and at Douay, it has been an immemorial custom, on a certain holiday in the year,

Such were the manners and such the religious rites of the first inhabitants of this city, as the clearest historical testimonies evince, and the same probably continued during the course of many hundred years, (1) The only monuments, however, that have reached us of those times, independent of history, are the conical hillocks, or barrows, upon our mountains, which still probably retain the remnants of the horrid funerals above described, (2) and the numerous mishapen blocks of heath stone; which were brought from a great distance, and when poised one upon another, for augurial or judiciary purposes, were called Logans or Tolmens, or when supported by pedestals of the same material, formed the dreadful Cromlechs, or altar stones, that have so often smoaked with the blood of the human creature offered in sacrifice. (3)

The first event in the history of this city, which we can trace by the

to build up an immense figure of basket-work and canvas, to the height of twenty or thirty feet, which, when properly painted and dressed, represents a huge giant. It also contains a great number of living men within it, who raise it from the ground, and cause it to move from place to place. The popular tradition is, that this figure represents a certain Pagan giant, who used to devour the inhabitants of these places, until he was killed by the patron saint. Have not we here a plain trace of the above described horrid sacrifice of Druidism, offered up to Saturn or Moloch, and of the beneficial effect of Christianity, in doing away its inhuman superstitions?

(1) The irruptions of the Celtish Gauls into the heart of Italy, and even into Greece and Asia, after having replenished every part of Spain, which events took place several centuries before the Christian era, render it extremely probable that the neighbouring island of Britain was, at those periods, full of inhabitants.

(2) The generality of the barrows in the neighbourhood of Winchester, in consequence of the former populousness of the country, and the cultivation of most of the downs, have been disturbed, at one time or other, as the writer has invariably discovered to be the case; but their general resemblance and similar construction with those which he has seen opened on the neighbouring coast of Dorsetshire, where such remains of men and beasts, with ashes, coarse unbaked urns, &c. were found, leave no doubt of their having once, at least, contained the memorials in question.

(3) A great number of these huge stones, of the same kind with those that form Stonehenge, (though most of them are much mutilated and diminished,) are still, after the lapse of nearly 2000 years since the extinction of Druidism, to be seen in various parts of the city; especially near Hyde-abbey; in Upper Brook-street; at the water edge behind Durngate-mill; at the Close-gate; under the east pier of King's-gate (being the foundation stone); in

light of certain and authentic records, was of the greatest importance and magnitude, being no less than a total change of its government and inhabitants, by means of a foreign invasion. The authors of this were the Belgæ, originally a German nation, (1) who, passing the Rhine several ages before the period in question, had conquered and seized upon a third part of Gaul; (2) where they ever maintained the character of being the bravest of all the neighbouring nations. (3) Not content with their conquests on the continent, and being incited by the hopes of plunder, a part of them crossed over the narrow sea which separated their coast from that of Britain, expelled the original Britons from the whole extent of the maritime counties, from Kent as far as Cornwall, and kept

King's-gate-street, &c. Others, of a still larger size, are to be found in the neighbourhood of the city, particularly in the rich valley of Twyford, which, prior to the arts of cultivation, must have been covered with a thick and lofty forest, highly favourable to Druidical rites. It is to be observed, that stones of this kind and size are not found in their natural state nearer our city than Bagshot-heath, the plains of Wiltshire, the Isle of Wight, or the coast opposite to it; in short, not nearer to it than from twenty to thirty miles: of course, the labour that it must have cost to convey them so far by land carriage, and through bad roads, proves that they were brought thither for some very important purpose. Now it is certain that they are equally unfit for carving and for building; accordingly we generally find them lying useless on the road side, or employed by way of fences at the corner of streets. It remains then for us to say, that they were collected by the ancient Britons, in our city, for the same religious purposes for which the same kind of stones were brought to Stonehenge and to Abury. One of the stones at Twyford, by the road side, has a mortice, apparently in the exact direction of the centre of gravity, and seems to have been the impost of a Logan; a second, which lies on the ground near Hyde-abbey, and measures about eleven feet in length, seems to have been the upright of a Tolmen; whilst a flat stone close to the blacksmith's shop in Upper Brook-street, which measures five feet in its greatest length, two and a half in breadth, and one foot and a half in thickness, was evidently a Cromlech, or altar stone, in which a small cavity seems to have been wrought near the middle of it, in order to retain a certain quantity of blood, for sprinkling round the altar, according to the Druidical usage. Two of the three pedestals on which this altar rested, are seen worked into the foundation of the opposite wall. Another much larger stone than the above mentioned, which stood in this neighbourhood, and seemed to have belonged to the same Druidical monument, was used as the foundation stone of the present new hospital.

(1) "Reperiebant Belgas ortos esse a Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus transductos ibi confedisse. Cæs. l. II.

(2) Cæs. l. II. (3) "Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgæ." Ib. l. I.

possession of them. (1) They consisted of different clans, which were distinguished in this island, as they had been upon the continent, by their respective names. But that clan which appears to have been the most considerable amongst them, and which, by its subsequent victories, proved itself to be the most valiant, retained, by way of pre-eminence, the national name of Belgæ, without any addition. This tribe seated itself in the central province of Hampshire, and extirpating, or expelling the former inhabitants, established the chief seat of government at Caer Gwent, which henceforward, during many ages, in addition to its own name, bore also that of its Belgic rulers. (2) It is not easy to ascertain at what time this revolution took place. It had certainly been effected a whole century before the Christian æra; (3) nearly about the period at which Divitacus, the Belgic king of Soissons, is celebrated for having extended his sway over a considerable part of Britain, as well as of Gaul. (4)

The change of inhabitants was unquestionably an improvement to Caer Gwent; for the Belgic Britons were several degrees more refined than the Celtic Britons. They did not entirely subsist, like the latter, upon milk and flesh, for they practised agriculture, and raised corn, (5) making both bread and beer; (6) their milk also they learned to work into

(1) "Maritima pars Britanniæ ab iis incolitur qui prædæ, & belli inferendi causa ex Belgio transierant, & bello illato, ibi remanserunt." L. v.

(2) They themselves probably called it *Gwent Bolg*. The Roman writers softened this name (as it was their custom to do with respect to all barbarous names) into *Venta Belgarum*; pronouncing, however, the letter *v* open, in consequence of which it had the same sound as our *w*, and the *ου* of the Greek geographer Ptolemy, who, as we have seen, writes our Venta Ουεντα. See Antoninus's Itinerarium, It. Brit. ad finem. also Ricard. Corin. It. xv. and Whitaker. The ancient anonymous geographer of Ravenna calls it *Venta Velgarum*.

(3) Camden. The learned Whitaker is of opinion that this conquest of the sea coast by the Belgæ, took place two centuries and a half earlier than this period. Hist. of Manchester, b. xii.

(4) "Apud eos (Suessones) fuisse regem nostrâ memoriâ Divitiacum totius Galliæ potentissimum, qui magnæ partis hujas regionis, tum etiam Britanniæ imperium obtinuit." Cæs. l. ii.

(5) "Belgæ Agros colere cœperunt." Ib. l. v.—"Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt." Ib.

(6) See Whitaker and the authorities quoted by him. Hist. of Manchester, c. vii. and Appendix No. i.

cheese; (1) and instead of the raw hides of their predecessors, they seem to have worn manufactured clothing. (2) The single circumstance of their applying to agriculture, instead of the chace, (which indeed it was not safe for them to follow to any great distance in the neighbourhood of enemies,) by confining them more at home, must have greatly contributed to the improvement of their dwellings. But what chiefly served to raise the inhabitants of this city and neighbourhood above the native barbarity of the ancient Britons, was their intercourse and traffic with foreigners; of which, on account of the conveniency of their harbours, and other advantages, they probably enjoyed, at the period we are speaking of, the greatest share, next to their brethren in Kent. (3)

This progress of our city towards civilization, which it was necessary to point out, in consequence of what we learn from that illustrious author, who wrote from occular testimony, must not, however, be overrated. The inhabitants were still barbarians, adopting the strange custom of their predecessors, in marking their bodies all over with blue figures, by way of ornament, and of course throwing off their clothes in battle, and on other occasions, in order to display them. (4) They were also addicted to the horrid rites of Druidism; (5) whilst the cities of the Belgæ in general were so little improved in their appearance, or manner of fortification, as not to be distinguished by the Roman general, from the entrenched woods and huts of the savages in the interior country. (6)

(1) Strabo. (2) " Interiores pellibus sunt vestiti." Cæs. l. v.

(3) " Neque iis (mercatoribus) quidquam præter oram maritimam atque eas regiones quæ contra Galliam sunt notum est." Cæs. l. iv.—" Longe humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt quæ regio est maritima omnis." L. v.

(4) " Omnes Britanni vitro se inficiunt." Cæs. l. v.

(5) This religion, no less than the custom of staining their bodies, the Belgæ, who were a German tribe, had borrowed from the conquered Britons. " Germani neque Druidas habent neque sacrificiis student." Cæs. l. vi.

(6) " Oppidum Britanni vocant, &c. Ut supra, p. 6.

CHAP. II.

Cæsar's Invasion.—Conduct of the Belgæ on this Coast.—Monument of Cæsar found near this City.—Condition of the City after his Return.—Conquest of Winchester by the Generals of Claudius.—Fortified and garrisoned by the Romans.—Civilization of its Inhabitants.—Placed under the Jurisdiction of Cogidubnus.—The different Names and Adventures of this celebrated Personage.

THE union of the British Belgæ under one government, does not appear to have lasted longer than the reign of Divitiacus. Soon after his time, we find them split into a variety of petty states, four of which subsisted in the single county of Kent, each having its respective chieftain or king, as he was called. (1) The consequence of this disunion was, that upon the eastern frontier, where the Belgæ appear to have been most divided, they were unable to cope with the ancient Britons; one of whose kings, who ruled over the Cassii of Hertfordshire, and part of Buckinghamshire, was enabled, about the time we are speaking of, to conquer and put to death Imanuentius, king of the Belgic Trinobantes, and to take possession of London, his chief city. (2) Our Belgæ of the West, if we may judge by their subsequent successes against the common enemy, were more united.

But the time was now come, when a sense of their common danger rendered it necessary for the inhabitants of this island in general to forget their ancient enmities and separate interests, and to form one grand confederacy for their mutual defence. (3) For they learnt from the

(1) "Quibus regionibus (Cantio) IV reges præerant. Cæs. l. v.

(2) "Imanuentius in ea civitate (Trinobantum) regnum obtinuerat, interfectusque erat a Cassivellauno." Cæs. l. v.

(3) "Consilio ejus (Cæsaris) cognito, & per mercatores perlato ad Britannos." L. IV.

merchants, who traded between their coasts and the opposite coasts of the continent, that the great Roman general, who had subdued all Gaul, from the Alps to the British Channel, was preparing to cross the latter with his invincible legions, in order to bring their country under the same yoke. The different tribes accordingly united together, and having chosen for their generalissimo Cassivellaunus (1), a prince, whose reputation for military talents seems to have been the highest amongst them. The people of the maritime provinces shewed themselves no less obedient to his orders, than were those of the interior, or his own immediate subjects. (2) If it be asked, why no mention is made of our Ventenses, or of any other part of the Belgic people immediately subject to this city, in either of the famous expeditions which the great Julius made into this island; the answer is at hand, and reflects a lustre upon their character. Not knowing on which part of the coast each of the threatened invasions was to take place; they, no less than the people of Kent, were employed in watching and guarding that which skirted their own province. Afterwards, when Cæsar had, with his usual celerity, routed the armies immediately opposed to him; (3) when the confederacy was dissolved, and the different tribes from Norfolk, (4) from Oxfordshire, (5) from Berkshire, (6) from Buckingham-

(1) Otherwise called Cassi-Belinus. See Camden's Buckinghamshire, &c.

(2) This appears in the bold attack made upon the Roman camp and shipping by the chieftains of Kent, in conformity with the orders of Cassivellaun, when his capital, Verulam, was besieged by Cæsar. De Bell. Gall. l. v.

(3) The British writers boast of prodigies of valour performed by their countrymen against the person and army of Cæsar, particularly by the chieftain called Nennius, who is said to have seized upon the sword of the Roman general, and with it to have killed Labienus, (id est Laberius Durus.) See Cæs. l. v. In confirmation of this account, they quote the verse of the Roman poet:—" Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis." Lucan.—It is certain they defended themselves with much valour, and with more success, than Cæsar is willing to acknowledge.

(4) Cenimagni, or Iceni, called by Ptolemy *Simeni*.

(5) Ancalites, viz. in the north east parts of the said county.

(6) Bibroci, the south parts of Berkshire, whose capital was Bray, near Windsor.

shire and Hertfordshire, (1) from Middlesex, (2) and even from the neighbouring city of Silchester, (3) pressed forward by their several ambassadors, to make their submission to the conqueror, and to court his protection; the inhabitants of Caer Gwent were not forward to bend their necks to the yoke; and by this conduct avoided the disgrace which was incurred by so many of the neighbouring cities and people. (4)

In the end Cæsar returned to the continent, more vain of himself, and more extolled by his countrymen, for having discovered a part of Britain, which was then considered as a new world; (5) than for having subdued the whole extent of Gaul. (6) From this period, which was the 55th year before the birth of Christ, during the space of nearly a century, the

(1) The Cassii, or Cattieuchlani.

(2) The Trinobantes. (3) The Segontiaci.

(4) Notwithstanding the silence of Cæsar concerning any incursion made by the Romans, in either of his expeditions, so far to the west as our city; yet the following discovery renders it probable, that a part of his army, at least, had been in our neighbourhood, and had even met with a defeat there, and been obliged to bury their ensigns, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Britons. Perhaps this was the case with that part of the cavalry which was embarked, in the first expedition, on board of eighteen transports, and which being driven by stress of weather to the westward, would naturally endeavour to land, and to form a junction with the Roman forces in Kent. Be that as it may: about fifty-six years ago, some labourers, digging for sand, near the entrance of Otterburn, which is a village four miles distant from Winchester, found, at the depth of twelve feet, a plate of mixed white metal, (such as those which were fixed to the eagles, or other ensigns of the Roman generals) with the head and inscription of Julius Cæsar upon it, in as high preservation as if it had but just been stamped. This circumstance, together with the depth and nature of the soil, creates a suspicion that it had been purposely buried. The medal has been in the possession of one of the labourers, (still living in the village) from the time of the discovery, until within these three months, when it fell into the hands of an ingenious medical gentleman of this city, by whose favour it is engraved in our *Miscellaneous Plate;* which see No. 2.

(5) " Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos." Virg. Eclog. 1.

(6) " Ob hoc, quod Britanniam bello petivissit, & ipse sibi (Cæsar) vehementer placebat, & qui Romæ erant mirifice prædicabant. Nam cum viderent quæ prius ignota fuerant, in lucem prolata, & quæ ante, ne fando quidem, erant audita, jam sibi patefacta; spem ex his consecuturam velut re exhibitam amplectebantur, atque ob has res supplicationes in vigesimum diem decreverunt." Dio. l. XXXIX. ex vers.

Britons were free from any foreign invasion. It is true they were threatened with an invasion, on one pretence or other, by each of the three succeeding emperors, Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula; the latter of whom actually led an army as far as the opposite shore of the Bristish Channel(1) for this purpose. They were, however, left quiet during all this time, on the sole condition of their paying a small tribute, which was rather calculated to gratify the pride, than the avarice of the haughty Romans. (2)

During this period it is natural to suppose, that our Venta was greatly aggrandized, in consequence of the success, both in arms and commerce, of that people, whose acknowledged capital it was. For our proper Belgæ, whom, with all their kindred tribes, Cæsar represents as confined to the southern shores of the island; (3) the geographer, Ptolemy, describes, two centuries afterwards, as being possessed of the whole country to the south of the Dobuni of Gloucestershire; that is to say, the whole or the greatest part of the country between the Severn and the British Channel, with the cities of Bath and Ilchester. (4) This increase of territory could not have been obtained without signal conquests gained over the Celtic Britons by our Belgæ; and the interval between the first and the second Roman invasion, was the only period in which it was possible for them to achieve such conquests. But what must have contributed most to raise the importance of our city, and at the same time to enrich and civilize its inhabitants, was the establishment of the chief foreign mart, for the staple commodity of tin, in the island of Wight, (5) which was in their neighbourhood, and subject to them. It appears to have been at that

(1) Whence he ridiculously sent cockle shells to the Roman Senate, as a proof of his pretended victory over the ocean. Suet. in Calig.

(2) Strabo. (3) See note 1, p. 11.

(4) "Τοις δε Δοβνοις υποκεινται Βελγαι, και πολεις Ισχαλις, Υδατα Θερμα, Ουεντα." Ptol. l. viii. c. iii. Hence Camden and other modern geographers attribute Somersetshire and Wiltshire, no less than Hampshire, to the Belgæ.

(5) Diodorus Siculus and Rudb. infra. See also Whitaker's observations, Hist. of Manchester, c. xi.

time accessible from the land at low water, as the tin was conveyed thither in carts. (1) This mart, which must have been held at Cowes, was established as early as the reign of Augustus. (2) The duties upon commerce were probably the only means of paying the tribute exacted by the Romans. Accordingly we find they were collected at this very mart; (3) which fact seems to imply, that the Romans had a custom-house, with proper officers there, for receiving the duties; and their intercourse with our metropolis of Venta, must have served to introduce a considerable portion of the manners and improvements of the civilized world.

At length the time arrived when this civilization became complete, but not without the severe discipline of defeat and subjection. It is plain that the island, at the time of which we are speaking, consisted of separate states, and was subject to a great number of chieftains; still, however, it appears, that since the erection of a kind of limited monarchy, (4) in the person of Cassivellaun, previous to Cæsar's second expedition, his successors had enjoyed the same authority in regular order. The king just named, is said, by the British historians, (5) to have been succeeded by his nephew, Tenancius, the son of Lud, whose successor, Cunobellin, or Cymbelline, is mentioned, not only by them, but also by the Roman historians. (6) Both classes of writers also agree, that this king left two sons, (7) the joint

(1) See the writers last quoted.

(2) Diodorus wrote in the reign of Augustus.

(3) " Legi in quadam Chronicâ vetustissimâ, quod Insula Vecta dicebatur, quia tempore Britonum Vectigalia regia, tributa Romanorum in Insulâ illâ numerabantur et solvebantur, et etiam in Insulâ illâ quasi stapulâ totius mercandiæ regni Britanniæ. Rudb. Hist. Major. l. 2. c. 1.—Whilst we reject the etymology here laid down, we cannot deny the facts on which it is founded, drawn from such ancient records.

(4) To this succession Tacitus seems to allude where he says, " Olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur." Annal. l. xii.

(5) Galfrid.—Mat. West.—Diceto.—Ranulph, &c. (6) Suet. in Calig.

(7) There was also an elder son, Adminius, whom Cymbelline was forced to pardon, in consequence of the threats of the emperor Caligula; to whom Adminius fled for protection, after having taken up arms against his father. It was not likely, however, that after such behaviour he was permitted to share in the inheritance of his father's dominions.

inheritors of his kingdom, whom the British records call Guiderius and Arviragus, but the Roman writers Togodumnus and Caractacus. (1) Whatever were their true names, it is certain they were both princes of high spirit, great military talents, and of unbounded authority among their countrymen. The former, however, possessed the chief command; with which being elated, he disdained to pay the accustomed tribute to the emperor, (2) who was then Claudius, and even refused to give up the Roman criminals who had taken refuge in his dominions. (3) These affronts being aggravated by the malice of Bericus, a seditious chieftain, who had been banished by Guiderius, (4) Claudius at length resolved upon undertaking the often projected conquest of this island.

It is natural to suppose that Guiderius, and his brother Arviragus, in setting the Roman power at defiance, made the best preparation they were capable of for resisting it; one part of which consisted in fortifying their cities; and hence we may conclude, that our city of Venta was not neglected on the occasion. (5) The time, however, would not have permitted them to raise stone walls round this (6) and their other cities, had this mode of fortification been then adopted amongst the Britons, which does not seem to have been the case. Claudius first sent Aulus Plautius as his general upon this expedition, with a suitable army, who met with great success, defeating Arviragus in one engagement, (7) and killing Guiderius in another. (8) It is highly probable that the scene of these

(1) With respect to the proper names of British men and places, and indeed with respect to most other circumstances relating to their history, where national vanity could take no hold, greater credit at this period becomes due to the British than to the Latin and Greek historians.

(2) Mat. Wast. ad Ann. Dom. 44. (3) Suet. in Claud. (4) Dio.

(5) This however is merely founded on probability. No ancient author makes mention of Winchester in particular on this occasion. Much less is there any authority for describing its walls, trenches, and battlements; of which we read in the Description of the City, &c. p. 2.—History of Winchester, v. II. p. 4.—City Tables, &c.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Dio. l. LX. (8) Idem. and Mat. West. &c. The last mentioned author however, makes Claudius himself present on this occasion, and places the scene of the action in which

first actions was, where the British historians place them, in our neighbourhood. (1) Hence Plautius pursued his successes through the country of the Belgæ, as far as the Severn, where he subdued the Dobuni of Gloucestershire. (2) From thence he bent his march through the midland country of the Cassi, into that of the Trinobantes, with a view of making himself master of Camalodunum. (3) In the mean time, the charge of completing the conquest of our Belgæ was committed to Vespasian, then an officer of no great rank (4) in the army, but who here laid the foundation of his future greatness. As a proof of the obstinacy with which his enemies defended themselves, it is recorded, that in the course of this war with the two brave tribes, the Belgæ and the Dobuni, (5) whom in the end he subdued, together with the Isle of Wight, he was obliged to fight thirty battles, and to besiege and take twenty towns. (6)

Guiderius fell, between this city and Southampton; the name of which place he absurdly derives from one Hamon, a Roman general, who, he says, was then killed near it. In the end, he represents the emperor Claudius as forced by the surviving brother to seek for refuge within the walls of our city. "At Arviragus hostiliter insequitur (Claudium) jam Wintoniam ingressum." Being besieged here, we are told he gave up his pretended daughter Gewissa and quiet possession of the island (but so as to hold the same of him) to the besieger.—Thus far the History of Winchester, p. 4, 5, is supported in its accounts by records, though disfigured and unfaithful; but for all the other circumstances which it mentions concerning dogs, camels, &c. there is not a shadow of any authority or probability whatsoever.

(1) This route, which supposes the Romans to have landed at Porchester, as Mat. West. relates, is much more probable than that traced by the imagination of Carte, who makes them land on one side of the Thames only to return to it on the other. P. 100.

(2) Boduni. Dio. ibid. (3) Idem.

(4) "Legatus legionis." Suet. in Vesp. c. IV.

(5) That the Belgæ were one of these conquered people is plain from many circumstances, particularly from that of his reducing the Isle of Wight. That the Dobuni were the other tribe, is probable from the course of Plautius's preceding march.

(6) "Tricies cum hoste conflixit. Duas validissimas gentes, superque viginti oppida et insulam Vectem, Britanniæ proximam, in ditionem redegit, partim Auli Plauti, partim Claudii ipsius ductu." Suet. in Vesp. c. IV.—In one of these battles Dio says that he was in imminent danger of being cut off by the enemy, when he was rescued by his son Titus. Perhaps this circumstance may have given rise to the story of Claudius being besieged, the writers ascribing the several exploits of his generals to the emperor himself.

Whilst these things were carrying on, Plautius sends to Rome for Claudius himself to hasten into the island, but whether this was done for the purpose of lending his assistance in prosecuting the war, as some have pretended, (1) or of furnishing a pretence for those triumphs and extravagant honours which were afterwards heaped upon him by the Roman senate, and the different provinces, facts will best declare. The truth is, having marched an army, furnished in every respect with imperial magnificence, and even accompanied by elephants, (2) to the port of Boulogn, (3) he was wafted into Britain, near to the chief scene of action; where he found the British army hemmed in by Plautius, between the tides of Blackwater and of the Thames, and, as it were reserved on purpose for him to have the honour of defeating. In like manner, the important city of Camalodunum, or Maldon, seemed only to wait for his orders to surrender itself to the Roman arms. (4) The whole time of the emperor's continuance in Britain was but a few days, (5) during which, in addition to the above-mentioned exploits, he received the submission of those districts in the island which were reduced to his obedience; and of course that of Venta, and the rest of Belgic Britain. He took away their arms, but at the same time endeared himself to them, by restoring their property, which had been declared confiscated. (6)

The expedition of Claudius took place in the year of Christ 44. Upon his return home he continued Plautius in the command which he had before held in Britain, where Vespasian also appears to have remained some time after the emperor. Plautius stayed there five years longer; (7)

(1) Dio, Carte, &c. (2) Dio. (3) Gessoriacum. Suet. Bede.

(4) This is the only consistent story which can be collected from the two different accounts of Dio and Suetonius. That of the latter is as follows: "Intra paucissimos dies sine ullo prælio aut sanguine, parte insulæ in deditionem receptâ, sexto quam profectus erat mense, Romam rediit triumphavitque maximo adparatu." Tib. Claud. c. XVII.

(5) Suet. Dio, ad supra.

(7) Vide Fasti Regum, ab Hen. Saville, ad Calcem. Ang. Script.

during which the brave and indefatigable Arviragus, in various quarters, but chiefly, it seems, on the banks of the Severn and the Wye, gave him full employment. Being recalled to Rome, under the honourable pretence of receiving a reward for his services, (1) a more active successor was, in the next year, viz. in the year 50, appointed to replace him. This was P. Ostorius Scapula, who, upon his arrival in the island, found the Roman government almost overturned, and the country of their allies (by whom we are chiefly to understand our Belgæ,) invaded and laid waste, (2) in consequence of the inroads of Arviragus, and his unsubdued Britons, who were probably the Cangi and the Silures. Having repulsed the enemy with great slaughter, his first care, before he proceeded further, was to secure the Roman province, as it was called, (3) and to prevent similar calamities in future. With this view he disarmed such of the inhabitants as he suspected to be favourable to the enemy, and fortified, in a regular manner, all the Belgic cities of note, between the two great æstuaries, the Anton or Southampton river, and the Severn. (4)

(1) The inferior honour of ovation was decreed to him. Dio. l. LX. Soon after which his wife Pomponia Græcina was discovered to be a Christian, as is plain from the words of Tacitus, Annal. xiii.

(2) " In Britannia P. Ostorium turbidæ res excepêre, effusis in agrum sociorum hostibus." Tacit. Annal. l. XII.

(3) " Redacta paulatim, in formam provinciæ, proxima pars Britanniæ." Tacit. Agric.

(4) " Detrahere arma suspectis, cinctosque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat." Ibid.—Few points of our national geography have been more warmly contested than to determine which of our rivers Tacitus here calls the *Antona*. Some writers, as Camden, Carte, &c. decide for the Nen of Northamptonshire ; others for the Wye ; whilst the learned Whitaker is confident that it is the Warwickshire Avon which is here spoken of ; Hist. of Manchester, c. XII. In support of the system here advanced, which indeed has before been adopted by Cressy, (Ch. Hist. b. I. c. 3.) in favour of the Southampton river, it is to be observed, that this river was formerly called the *Anton*, as Camden himself clearly proves, (see *Hampshire*); that these two rivers are the precise boundaries, north and south, of the province first subdued, viz. that of the Belgæ; for securing which, both from internal and external enemies, these fortresses were certainly necessary, and were deemed to be so by Ostorius ;—lastly, it is to be observed, that the province in question is actually surrounded by

This then is the proper period to which the regular construction of our city, in a square form, which was that of the Roman camps in

Roman fortresses, as their name simply, Silchester, Chichester, (formerly Regnum) Porchester, Winchester, Ilchester, and Badoncester; fortresses which there was no opportunity of raising at an earlier period, nor any necessity of erecting at a later, when the seat of the war was transferred to the north. Ostorius, and the other Roman generals, his successors, undoubtedly observed the policy of other conquerors in securing the country by fortifications, progressively as they subdued it. Hence the cities of Hampshire, near the Antona, which county Camden, &c. agree was first reduced, were fortified before those upon the Avon and the Nen, in the midland counties. About the same time, but after the fortifications on the Antona and the Sabrina were completed, the other places that required to be secured in the provincia prima Britanniæ were fortified in like manner; in the proportion of about one in each county. To the east there was Andredescester, among the Regni, in the forest of Andrida; Rochester, among the Cantii; Colchester, at the confines of the Trinobantes; and Werlamcester, near those of the Cassii. On the west were Dorchester, amongst the Durotoriges; and Exeter, amongst the Damnonii.

The learned Gibson, in controverting the arguments of his author, Camden, lays himself open to severe censure, where he asserts that our county was, by ancient writers, always called *Hamtunscyre*, never *Hantunscyre*, and the neighbouring town *Hamtun*, never *Hantun*, *Hanton*, &c. except once in mistake by Florence of Worcester. See additions to Hampshire.—In confutation of these assertions, it will be sufficient to adduce the following passages from various ancient authors:—Osricus *Hantunensium* Comes." Asser. Annal. Ad. An. DCCCLX.—" Omnes accolæ *Hantunensis* Pagi." Id. Ad. An. DCCCLXXIII.—" Portus Hamonis, qui nunc *Hantonia* vocatur." Ben. Claudioces, in Angl. Sac. vol. II. p. 150.—" *Hantunescyre*." Hen. Huntingdon, p. 350. Ed. Sav.—" *Hantescyre*." Ann. Wint. Ad. An. 1216.—*Hantescire* and *Hentescrie*." Doomsday passim.—" *Hantuna*." Simeon Dunelm. ante p. 1. Ed. Twys.—See also Higden, ib. p. 224, Diceto, &c. also the title of the old romance *Beuves de Hanton*.

From these authorities it follows—1st. That the translator of Camden is not warranted in finding fault with his author, for saying that *Hantescyre* was the original name of the county, and *Hanton* that of our neighbouring town.—2dly. That the arguments of this great man, drawn from Ptolemy, Antoninus, Bede, and from the existing names of several places on the river in question, in proof that the appellations of Hantescyre, now Hampshire, and of Hanton, now Southampton, are both derived from the Antona, (as the names of Wiltshire and Wilton are confessedly derived from the river Willy) receive additional weight. By this Antona we are either to understand the whole course of the Test, or perhaps only the mouth of it, which we now call the Southampton river.—3dly. That the supposition made above, concerning the river being the Antona of Tacitus, is highly probable.

general, is to be ascribed; (1) together with the city walls, composed of flints and strong mortar; the substance of which, after so many repairs and alterations, still remains. (2) These fortifications were not raised except for the purpose of being defended by a garrison. Hence there can be no doubt that some Roman legion, (3) or some cohorts, were then stationed in this city, though afterwards removed farther north, when the necessity of continuing them here ceased. (4) These troops, according

From what has been said, the reader will discover how gross an error it would be to suppose, that when we speak of the *County of Southampton*, we refer to that county in which a certain town of the same name is situated. The fact is, one is the *Shire* of the river *Anton*, now pronounced Hampton, (by contraction Hampshire) the capital of which was ever Winchester; the other is the town, or rather the port of the river Anton or Hampton; by Antoninus and Bede called *Entum* in *Clausentum*, and *Solente*. It has only been since the Conquest, that the discriminating word *South* has been added to the names of the town and county, in order to distinguish them from another town and county, which were then found to have the same name, and which, from their relative situation, were called the town and county of Northampton.

(1) See various plans of them in General Le Roy's Military Antiquities in Britain. Fol. Sumptibus Soc. Antiq. The corners however were mostly rounded off; such was also the form of our city walls, as may be seen at the north corner, the only one which has not been altered.

(2) It does not appear that the Britons before their reduction ever abandoned the form of their towns, which, like those of most barbarous nations, were certainly round, as Strabo (vide p. 6.) has assured us; or the materials of their fortifications, which were mounds of earth and the trunks of trees. Indeed the very name of *Chester*, derived from *Castrum*, which still remains annexed to that of our city, is admitted to be a sufficient proof of its having been fortified by the Romans, and after their manner. Now, as we have said, they had no opportunity sooner, nor any necessity later, of effecting this. On the other hand, the opinion that the substance of a considerable part of our city walls is of the period here assigned to them, will receive great support from comparing them with the still existing walls of Silchester, which city we know was utterly destroyed soon after the Romans abandoned our island.

(3) Trussel asserts, upon the credit of Voleterranus, but of no authority more ancient than his, that the legio xx was stationed at our Venta. MSS.—Certain it is that this legion was stationed in Britain about this time. Tacit.—Antoninus places it ad Devam, on the river Dee, but this was at a later period.

(4) This accounts for no military force being assigned to our city in the Notitia, which was written so late as the reign of Honorius.

to their usual custom, had their Castrum Æstivum, or summer encampment, in the neighbourhood, as well as their winter quarters in the city itself. We accordingly find the vestiges of this encampment in the situation where we should naturally look for them, namely, on that singular, peninsulated hill, within a mile of the city, called Catherine Hill; which communicates with the Roman road between Porchester and Winchester on one side, and with the river which washes its foot on the other. On the top of this hill we discern the dimensions and form of the Castrum, in the bold entrenchment which still surrounds it, and which approaches to the Roman quadrangular shape, as nearly as the figure of the hill will permit. (1)

Wherever the Romans carried their conquests, they constantly opened a communication between city and city, by means of those firm and strait roads, which still remain in so many parts to attest their genius and magnificence. In forming these, they employed their own soldiery, to inure them to toil and hardship, and also the inhabitants of the country, as such extensive works could not have been executed without their assistance. (2)

(1) See Gibson's Additions to Hampshire.

(2) Galgacus mentions the manual labour imposed on the conquered Britons by the Romans as a singular act of their tyranny: "Corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis, verbera inter ac contumelias, conterunt." Tacit. Vit. Agric.

It will probably gratify the reader to present him with a short account of the chief roads leading from this city, in various directions, in the time of the Romans; extracted from the Itinerarium of Antoninus. Ed. Gale, elucidated by that of Ric. Corinensis, published by Whitaker, Hist. of Manchester, vol. II.

From Winchester to Southampton, &c.

A Venta Belgarum ad Lapidem, *Stoneham*, mille passus, *(miles)*	VI
Inde ad Clausentum, *Southampton*	IV
Ad Portum Magnum, *Porchester*	X
Ad Regnum, *Chichester*	X

From Winchester to Exeter.

A Venta Belgarum ad Brigem, *the village of Broughton*, m.p.	XI
Ad Sorinodunum, *alias* Sorbiodunum, *Old Sarum*	IX
Ad Vindocladiam, *Wimborn*	XII
Ad Durnonovarium, *Dorchester*	IX

Table I.

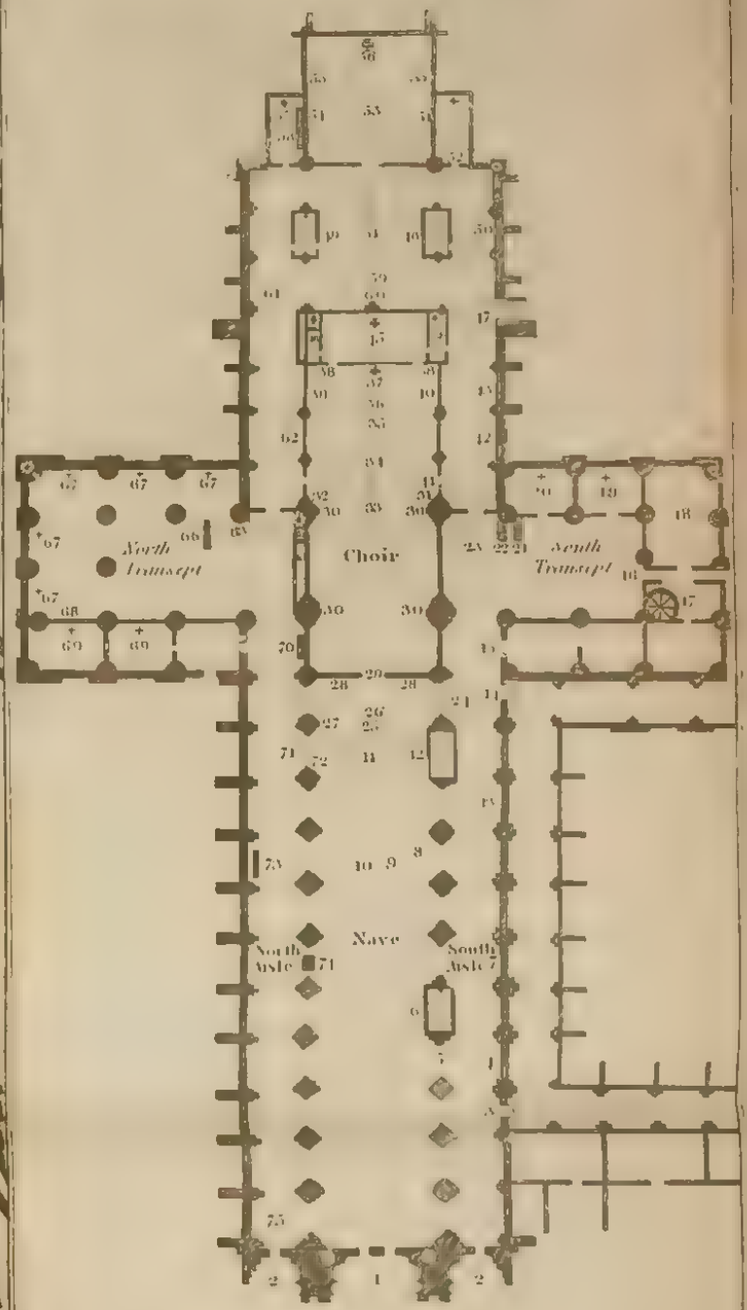
Ancient Ichnography of the City of WINCHESTER

Table II

Ichnography of the Environs of WINCHESTER

Table III

Ichnography of the Cathedral Church





Drawn Delineavit ad mentem J. Milner

We have still traces and remains of the roads made about this time which lead from our Venta to most of the considerable ancient towns in the neighbourhood, particularly those which, with almost mathematical precision, conduct to Vindonum, or *Silchester*, and Sorbiodunum, or *Old Sarum*. (1)

To induce the people to inhabit a city in the power of their conquerors, it was necessary to bring them off from the habits of that rude life to which they had been accustomed, and to introduce the arts of civilization in their place. (2) Accordingly those measures appear to have been now practised in this first province of Britain, which we afterwards find the conquerors pursuing throughout the whole island, when it fell under their power. (3)

A taste for well-built and magnificent market-places, temples, houses,

Ad Moridunum, *Seaton*.....XXXVI
Ad Iscam Dumnuniorum, *Exeter*..... XV

From Winchester to London.

A Venta Belgarum ad Vindonum, *Silchester*, m.p. XXI
Ad Callevam, *Wallingford* XV
Ad Bibractem, *Bray* XX
Ad Londinium, *London*..... XX

The last road is laid down according to Corinensis. Antoninus indeed shortens it, but, by an egregious error, makes the first stage *Calleva*, only XXII miles from Winchester, without mentioning the intermediate stage of *Vindonum;* the next stage is *Pontes*, or *Colnbrook*, which he places at an equal distance from Wallingford and London, or XXII miles each way.

1st. We observe that the miles here made use of are longer than our present miles, though the Roman miles in general are shorter.—2dly. That there are some errors in laying down the respective distances of places, and that however excellent and strait the Roman roads were from town to town, yet, for want of a sufficient number of them, as likewise from the irregular manner in which the country was inhabited, travelling to any great distance was then very circuitous.

(1) This is seen a little beyond the turnpike gate of the Romsey road, stretching, to the right, over the downs and through Farley woods, in a strait line, until it is lost in the low grounds about Brashfield. But it is again found upon the downs beyond the intermediate station of Broughton, and is plainly visible from thence all the way to the very trenches of Old Sarum. (2) Tacit. Agric. (3) Ibid.

porticos, as likewise for baths and entertainments, was carefully infused into the inhabitants; (1) they were encouraged not only to adopt the manners and dress of their conquerors, (2) but also to apply themselves to literature and the liberal arts, (3) under an idea that their genius was far better turned for these, than was that of their neighbours in Gaul; (4) so that men, who before disdained to learn the Roman language, now contended for the palm of its eloquence. (5) Those who excelled in these pursuits, were applauded and rewarded, whilst those who neglected them, met with every kind of discouragement. (6)

Amongst the measures for humanizing our Belgic Britons, the most important and effectual were those which regarded religion. Augustus had caused a law to be enacted, which prohibited Roman citizens from practising any of the dire rites of the Druidical religion. (7) Tiberius extended this prohibition to the Gauls, (8) where these rites, no less than in Britain, formed the religion of the country. But it seems to have been reserved to Claudius to enforce the observance of this law. (9) Accordingly the Druids, whose principal seat seems, by the remains which they have left, to have been originally in the country of our Belgæ, were reluctantly forced to abandon their dreadful altars in Venta, their mysterious circles at Abury, and their stupendous temple at Stonehenge; and to retreat to Anglesea, and other remote situations, amongst their unsubdued countrymen, in order to practise their horrid ceremonies with impunity. (10) In their place the Romans introduced their own more humane and civilized priests, called Flamines, not so much to bring about a change of religion

(1) " Hortari privatim, adjuvare publice ut templa, fora, domus extruerent." Tacit. Agric.
(2) " Habitus nostri honos et frequens toga." Tacit. Agric. (3) Ibid.
(4) " Ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre." Ibid. (5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid.
(7) " Druidarum religionem civibus sub Augusto interdictam." Suet. in Claud.
(8) " Tiberii principatus sustulit Druidas Gallorum." Plin. LXXX.
(9) " Druidarum religionem diræ immanitatis apud Gallos penitus abolevit." (Claudius) Suet. ut supra.
(10) Tacit. Agric. de Insul. Mona.

as of manners, by their means, amongst the inhabitants: and as it was foreseen that a great number of these men would be wanted for the same policy, in other parts of the island, when they should be reduced, as well as a succession of them for after times; hence a seminary of their order was now founded, which was established in our metropolis of the Belgæ.(1) We gather from a passage above cited,(2) that various temples were at this time erected for the practice of the new religion: two of these are particularly named, and both of them stood in the neighbourhood of the cathedral; namely, the Old Temple of Concord, and the New Temple of Apollo. (3)

We have seen that the funerals of the Britons were no less inhuman than their sacrifices. These cruel rites were now suppressed, and instead of burying the ashes of their dead under barrows, on the open downs, inclosed in coarse pots of clay, which had been hardened in the sun; they consumed the bodies, of persons of distinction at least, in funeral piles, just without the city; and collecting their ashes in urns of fine black pottery, and of an elegant shape, buried them in rows, near the place where they had been burnt. In fact such urns have been discovered, within these few years, just without the city walls, both to the east and to the north, as will be mentioned in our *Survey* of the city.(4)

Next to the abolition of the Druidical sacrifices and funerals, the greatest benefit conferred upon the inhabitants of our city by the Romans, in exchange for their independency, was the revival of their trade and commerce, which had been interrupted by the ambition of Guiderius, and must have been considerable, from its neighbourhood to the great mart of Cowes. (5) We must add to this the establishment in it of a

(1) " Principalis sedes Flaminum erat in Urbe Wentanâ, quæ linguâ Britannicâ nominata est *Kaer Gwent*. Rudb. Hist. Major Wint. c. II.

(2) See note (1) p. 26.

(3) Rudb. Hist. Major Hist. Wint. c. VI.

(4) See specimens of these urns, *Miscellaneous Plate*, No. 3, 4.

(5) Vide sup. p. 17. The chief articles of their exportation, besides tin and lead, were

manufactory,(1) adapted to its local situation and natural products; (2) and which appears to have been under the particular protection of the emperor. (3) It is not pretended that these several measures of civilization and improvement were introduced, and all carried to perfection at the period in question, namely, in the beginning of the reign of Claudius; but they were then set on foot, and carried on, as circumstances proved favourable, with progressive advancement, during the three ensuing centuries.

We left the Roman general Ostorius pursuing his conquests. The fortifications which he had erected in the west, arguing a regular plan of retaining his conquests in the island, and not barely of punishing certain offenders, alarmed the inhabitants of the eastern country,(4) who had hitherto professed themselves the allies of the Romans. (5) They accordingly took up arms against him, but were defeated with great slaughter. It seems, however, to have been the policy of this commander, first to place his western conquests in a state of perfect security, before he attempted to bring the powerful nation alluded to, under his yoke. He accordingly granted them favourable terms, (6) and hastened to subdue the Cangi, on the confines of Devonshire and Somersetshire, who appear to have still

bridle-bits, made of ivory, or rather of bone; collars, pearls, amber, glass, slaves, and dogs. Diod. Sic. Strabo. The principal article which they imported was brass. Cæs.—To this must be added all the articles of conveniency or luxury, necessary for the refinements which they had adopted.

(1) Camden observes, from the Notitia, by the help of Pancirollus, its editor, that there was a *Cynegium*, or rather *Gynœcium Bentense*, or *Ventense*, which means a workshop for weaving, an art that at the time in question was the exclusive province of women.

(2) We cannot doubt that the cloths made in this city were woollen; not linen, as Camden seems to suppose: the country round about supplying the raw materials of the former in the greatest abundance, and of the finest sort; whereas it is not likely that any flax was either raised or imported hither at this early period.

(3) This appears from the circumstance of the procurator of the manufactory being an officer appointed by the emperor.

(4) The Iceni of Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire, &c. Tacit. Ann. l. xii. (5) Ibid.

(6) This follows from the tenor of the testament of Prasutagus. Ibid.

harrassed our Belgæ, and to have been the only obstacle to the submission of the people, who possessed the western country as far as the Land's End. He therefore entirely broke their power, carrying on a war of extermination against them, to the very sea which bounded their territory. (1) This being effected, and a small party of the Brigantes, who had entered into the conspiracy of his enemies against him, being routed with great slaughter, he was at liberty to bend his whole force against Arviragus or Caractacus, who was the soul of all these movements, and indeed the most powerful, as well as the most warlike prince in Britain; now that he had succeeded to his brother Guiderius, in the title of Togidubnus, (2) and in the office of generalissimo of all his independent countrymen. The seat of war, for a considerable time, was amongst the valiant Silures of South Wales, until

(1) This appears to have been the Bay of Barnstaple. Tacit. Ann. l. xii.

(2) As this system, which makes the *Caractacus* of Dio, the *Cogidunus* of Tacitus, and the *Arviragus* of Geoffry, Mat. West, &c. to be one and the same person, may appear new to many readers, though insinuated by the learned Cressy, (Eccles. Hist. l. i. c. iii.) it seems not improper to state, in a succinct manner, the grounds on which it is founded, by producing certain parallel circumstances from the Roman and the British historians.

According to the Roman Historians,

1st, Cunobelinus, king of the Britons, left two sons, Togodumnus and Caractacus, who, upon the invasion of their country by the Romans, in the time of the emperor Claudius, commanded armies, and fought diverse battles with them; in one of which Togodumnus was slain. Dio, Sueton.

According to the British Historians.

1st, Cymbeline, king of Britain, dying in the year of the Christian æra 23, left two sons, Guiderius and Arviragus, the former of whom, succeeding to the authority of his father, refused to pay to the emperor Claudius the accustomary tribute. A war breaking out in consequence of this, Guiderius was at first victorious, but, in a subsequent engagement, was killed by the treachery of a Roman general. Geof. Mat. West. Ranulph.

N.B. It seems to be agreed at present amongst the learned, that the word Togodumnus or Cogidubnus, is not a proper name, but a title of honour, (see Carte and Whitaker,) probably meaning the conqueror of the Dobuni, (as Claudius, from his success in Britain, assumed the title of *Britannicus*). Hence it appears to have been transmitted at his death, together with his power, to his younger brother. The presumption therefore is, that *Guiderius* was the real name of this unfortunate British prince.

Arviragus, being unable to maintain his ground there any longer, was forced to retreat into North Wales, where he was overcome in a general

2dly, Caractacus, undismayed at the death of his brother, continued to combat the Romans, with persevering courage and various success, until at length being taken prisoner, he was conveyed to Rome; where Claudius, admiring his heroic sentiments and conduct, pardoned him, together with his wife and children, and restored him and them to their liberty. Tacit. Ann. LXX. The same historian, in another work, treating, in a cursory manner, of the affairs of Britain, during the reign of Claudius, says, that "certain cities of our island were given up by the Romans to king Cogidunus." Tacit. Vit. Agric.—This fact is confirmed by an inscription on a stone dug up at Chichester in the beginning of this century, in which this king is more correctly called *Cogidubnus*, with the additions of the emperor's own names, Tiberius Claudius, which it appears he had assumed. See Philos. Trans. No. 379.

2dly, Arviragus, having assumed the armour, together with the authority of his deceased brother, restores the battle which was almost lost, kills the traitor, and besieges Claudius in Winchester; who, in the end, is forced to give his daughter in marriage to him. Yet, notwithstanding this boasted superiority, he is content to hold his kingdom of Claudius, and to pay him tribute. Arviragus is so much devoted to the person of Claudius, that he builds the city of Glocester (in the country of the Dobuni, from which he himself derives his title of Cogidubnus,) in honour of Claudius, calling it after him, Claudiocester. Mat. West. Galfrid, &c.

N.B. Great abatements are evidently to be made from the alleged victories of the British warriors, as collected from the songs of their native bards. The great object of a judicious and faithful historian is to guard against the negligence and want of information of the Roman writers, on the one hand, and the national vanity of the British writers, on the other. Nevertheless, that there was such a British king as Arviragus, is proved from his coin. See Camden, pl. XVII. and Speed—as likewise from Juvenal: "De Temone Britanno excidet Arviragus." It has been objected by respectable historians, that these verses must relate to a prince who lived in Domitian's time. But the Arviragus of Mat. West. is stated to have lived until within a few years of that reign; and it is probable that the Roman poet did not recollect, or had not heard, that he was dead.

3dly, Tacitus asserts, that king Cogidunus remained faithful to the Romans, until within his own memory, *ad nostram usque memoriam:* now, he wrote his life of Agricola in the beginning of the reign of Trajan, A.D. 118.

3dly, Mat. West places the beginning of the reign of Arviragus in 44, and his death in 73; a period which must have been within the recollection of many contemporaries of Tacitus.

battle, and his wife and children were taken prisoners. (1) Flying for refuge to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, in the north of the island, he was delivered up by her to Ostorius, who sent him and his family in chains to Rome. (2) The joy of Claudius and of the Roman senate and people on this occasion was immoderate. They fancied that the Britons would never again dare to appear in arms, when deprived of their great commander. He himself behaved, in this trying situation, with a modest firmness, which proved his greatness of soul more than all his past exploits. He neither meanly courted, nor insolently dared the conqueror who held him in chains. (3) He was content to live, provided he might live honourably. Claudius, struck with his appearance, granted him and his family their lives and liberty. (4) Nor was this all; for rightly judging that no person was so likely to prove faithful to him in peace, as one who having valiantly opposed him in war, now promised fidelity to him; and following the approved policy of the Romans, in making kings the instruments of their ambition, (5) he sent back Arviragus into Britain, with orders to Ostorius to reinstate him in the civil jurisdiction of a part of his territories. (6)

We have enlarged upon the history of this hero, because it does not appear to be generally understood, and because our province of the Belgæ seems to have constituted his dominions, and our city of Venta to have been his metropolis. (7) During his continuance at Rome, he had every

If this system of reconciling the British with the Roman writers be admitted; the learned Carte will have no reason to reproach the former, with having set up imaginary heroes, and with overlooking their real champion Caractacus; since it will appear, that he is the very king whom they magnify into the conqueror of that very emperor, by whose favour he enjoyed his dominions and his life.

(1) Tacit. Ann. l. xii. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.

(5) " Vetere ac jampridem receptâ populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges." Tacit. Vit. Agric.

(6) It is clear from our author, that the promotion of Cogidunus took place during the command of Ostorius, probably A.D. 53, the year after he was sent to Rome.

(7) It is certain that the territory conferred upon this prince was such as the Romans were then masters of. It was not the whole *provincia prima*, or the expression would not have

means of improving his mind, enlarging his ideas, and of perfectly acquiring the habits of civilized society; means which were necessary to enable him to fulfil the intentions of the emperor in sending him back to Britain, namely, that he might communicate his own improvements to his countrymen. It is not unlikely that he contracted a second marriage here, with some lady about the Court, whom the British historians called Gewissa, and exalt to the honour of being daughter to Claudius himself. (1) What seems certain is, that his own daughter, Claudia, who, like her father, changed her name in honour of the emperor, continued at Rome, (2) and was married to the senator Pudens, (3) where she was celebrated for her beauty and virtue by the poet Martial, (4) and commended, with her husband Pudens, by St. Paul, (5) amongst the chief saints of the Roman

been *quædam civitates*. On the other hand, it was not the eastern part of the province, or we should probably have heard of Cogidubnus in the subsequent war of the Iceni, under Boadicea. Besides, other measures for keeping the inhabitants in subjection were adopted there, namely those of establishing a municipium and colony. It remains then to say, that his dominions were in the western part of the province; where indeed most writers place them; Gale at Silchester, Camden in Sussex. But the expression *quædam civitates* implies more than a single district, or even county; at a time when there were so few cities. What however seems to settle this point, and to prove that our Belgæ formed the bulk of his subjects, is that we find him building a city upon their confines to the north, namely, Glocester; and that we discover an undoubted monument of his authority to the south, at Chichester, as the terms of the inscription found there imply. Now, of this whole extent of country, at the period in question, Venta was undoubtedly the chief city, and therefore may justly be called the capital of the metamorphosed Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, once the beloved Arviragus of the Britons, and the dreaded Caractacus of the Romans.

(1) Mat. West. ad ann. 44, &c.

(2) See the old Saxon Martyrologium, Ap. 7, where it is asserted, that "she was brought captive from Britain by the emperor, and that she died at Sabinum A.D. 110."

(3) Claudia, Rufe, meo nupsit peregrina Pudenti
Macte esto tædis, O Hymenæ tuis. Mart. Epigr. l. iv.

(4) Claudia Cæruleis cum sit Ruffina Britannis
Edita, quam Latiæ pectora plebis habet!
Quale decus formæ! &c. Id. l. xi.

(5) 2 Tim. c. iv. v. 21.

church. As to himself, it is evident that, with his ancient ideas and manners, he also laid aside his proper name, substituting the whole name of his friend and benefactor in its place, and henceforward calling himself *Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, King and Legate of the August Emperor in Britain.*(1) In his honour also he is said to have named the city which he erected in the country of the Dobuni, from which he derived his own title, (2) calling it *Claudiocester*, under which name it is frequently mentioned by ancient authors.

(3) Such is literally his style and title in the Chichester inscription, in which the temple, alluded to, is said to be built by his authority, "Pudens giving the ground for the same." This seems to argue that Arviragus had conferred possessions in his southern dominions upon his son-in-law Pudens; which fact serves to confirm the statements given above.

(2) Cogidubnus, conqueror of the Dobuni.

CHAP. III.

Danger of the City from Boadicea.—Saved by the Roman General Paulinus Suetonius.—Death of Boadicea—Place of her Burial.—Death of Arviragus, King of the Belgæ.—His Successors, Marius, Coillus, and Lucius, in a right Line.—The Conversion of Lucius to the Christian Faith.—Proofs of the Reality of this Event and Objections answered.—Lucius sends to the Bishop of Rome for the Bishops who were to preside in Britain.—Winchester made a Cathedral Church, with a College of regular Clergy annexed to it.—Remaining History of Lucius.—Place of his Burial.—The Tyrants Carausius and Allectus.—Persecution of Dioclesian, Destruction of the Cathedral, and Martyrdom of its Clergy.

WHILST our city, under the powerful protection of the Romans, and the mild government of her native king, Caractacus Cogidubnus, was making a rapid progress in the several improvements which have been described, she was on a sudden, in the seventh year of the reign of Nero, and the sixty-second from the birth of Christ, exposed to the imminent danger of losing them all, and of relapsing into her former barbarism. This was occasioned by the inexorable vengeance of the warlike Boadicea, (1)

(1) Tacitus, in his Annals, calls her *Boudicea;* in his Agricola, *Voadicea;* Xiphelin terms her *Bonduca*, whilst her own coins, published by Camden, are inscribed, one BooTika, another *Boduo:* (nisi forsan pro *Bodunis* aut *Dobunis*). The strange licenses which the Roman writers take, on every occasion, in smoothing and latinizing what they deem barbarous names, will sufficiently account for the difference which we find between them and the British writers with respect to the name of the prince, concerning whom so much has been said above. By his medal in Camden, it appears that his genuine name was *Arivog*. This is not a little changed by his native writers, who call him *Arviragus*, but much more so by foreigners, who moulded *Arivog* successively into *Carivoctus*, *Carivactus*, *Caractus*, and *Caractacus*.

for her own wrongs, and by the general indignation of her high spirited subjects, the Iceni, at seeing themselves transferred, like cattle, by the testament of their late king Prasutagus, to the Roman yoke; (1) and their religion exterminated by the Roman general in its principal seat. (2) Already had the infuriate bands of these eastern Britons, marching from a different Venta from our own, (3) destroyed every vestige of civilization at Camalodunum, London, and Verulam, (4) killing, with refined cruelty, every native Roman, and even every Roman ally, who fell into their hands, (5) to the number of 70,000 souls, and they were now in full march towards this city, with the same murderous and destructive intentions, when Paulinus, whose army had been reinforced from this part of the country, opposed himself on its borders (6) to their further progress, and availing himself of the great superiority of his own military talents, and of the discipline of his army, gave them one of the most terrible defeats recorded in history, killing not fewer than 80,000 of these devoted people, and not sparing the very women and horses that had belonged to them. (7)

(1) He had made Nero joint heir of his kingdom with his two daughters. Tacit.

(2) The proprætor Paulinus was at that time employed in exterminating the Druids in their strong hold, the isle of Anglesea, and in cutting down their sacred groves, &c. Ibid.

(3) Venta Icenorum, now Caster, near Norwich. Antoninus, Itiner. Camden, Britannia.

(4) " Cætera quidem impetu direpta, aut incensa sunt. Ibid.

(5) " Neque enim capere aut venundare, sed cædes, patibula, ignes, cruces, festinabant." Ibid.

(6) It appears by the narration of Tacitus, and by Boadicea's speech, that Paulinus when he was forced to abandon London to the fury of the enemy, continued, for a certain time, to retreat before them. Now the eastern country was all their own, and they had got possession of the country to the north, as appears by their devastations at Verulam, and likewise by what is stated of this general's return from Anglesea, namely, that he passed through the midst of his enemies. He had only then the south-west country to fly to, where, in fact, his principal strength lay. On the whole, it is probable that this celebrated battle was fought not far from Farnham; since, had he fallen back farther, he would have left one city or other of the allied Regni or Belgæ exposed. This conjecture does not disagree with those of Carte and Guthrie.

(7) Tacit.

Thus was our city saved from utter ruin. Hence, instead of receiving Boadicea at the head of 230,000 barbarians, (1) breathing, like herself, nothing but vengeance against every ally of the Romans, and eager to obliterate every vestige of their power aud improvements, its inhabitants beheld her breathless body brought hither in mournful procession, in order to receive the rights of sepulture, which were performed with uncommon magnificence. (2) The fact is, she was resolved not to fall a second time into the hands of the Romans, and being a stranger to that Christian courage, which fortifies the mind to support the unavoidable calamities of life, rather than with desponding impatience to fly from them by sullen suicide, she deliberately poisoned herself. (3)

From this period Venta continued for a long space of time to enjoy the blessings of peace and civilization, without disturbance or dread. The seat of war with the unsubdued Britons was removed more and more to the north, which caused her garrison of Roman legionaries to be withdrawn, to the great comfort of the inhabitants; and the Roman generals were employed partly in extending their frontier, partly in propagating that system of civilization amongst the more remote inhabitants, (4) which had before been successfully practised in this first province, as it was called. In the mean time Arviragus, or Caractacus Cogidubnus, continued to sway the tributary sceptre of this province, with due submission and fidelity to the Roman government, (5) until the third year of Vespasian, (6) with whom, in their early years, he had probably often measured swords. This was the year 73 from the birth of Christ, when closing his life, he was buried at the city of the Dobuni, which he himself

(1) Such was their number, according to Dio; of course they formed the greatest army that ever was collected together in this island. Perhaps, however, the women, whom we learn from Tacitus were assembled to see the battle, are included in the number.

(2) This fact is asserted on the credit of the work entitled *Nero Cæsar*, quoted by Trussell, but upon what ancient authority the writer is ignorant.

(3) Tacit. Ann. l. xiv. (4) Tacit. Agric.

(5) " Is (Cogidunus) ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit." Tacit. Agric.

(6) Mat. West.

had founded. (1) He was succeeded by his son Marius, a prince celebrated for his wisdom and prudence, (2) who being exact in paying to the Romans the tribute (3) by which he held his command, was supported by them in it; nor is it at all improbable that they enlarged his territory out of their late conquests, in effecting which he is stated to have been instrumental. (4) Marius, in order to give the emperor the most secure pledge of his fidelity, sent his infant son and heir, Coillus, to be educated at Rome; where he so conducted himself as to acquire the entire confidence of the Roman senators. (5) His father dying in 78, Coillus was permitted to return to Britain, and to take possession of his kingdom; which he held in perfect peace and tranquillity, (6) being punctual in paying the usual tribute, (7) during the space of 46 years. He died in the year of our Lord 124, leaving a son and heir, then only nine years of age, but of the most promising disposition, and who soon became no less respected and beloved than Coillus himself had been. (8) This was the celebrated Lucius, the first Christian king in this or in any other country, (9) and the peculiar benefactor of our city of Venta.

It is plain that each of the successive princes mentioned above must have had a knowledge of the faith of Christ, from their near relations, who were some of its brightest ornaments both at Rome and in Britain. (10)

(1) Claudiocestriæ or Glocester. Mat. West. (2) Mat. West. (3) Ibid.

(4) Geoffry and Ranulph relate that Marius defeated in Westmoreland an army of Picts under the command of Roderic, who had arrived in the northern part of the island from Scythia. Joannes Fordun, who admits this fact, calls Marius "Romanæ gentis legionum dux, Britonumque patricius." Scotorum Hist. c. XXVII.—This description of his authority, which probably approaches nearest to the truth, renders more probable the succession of princes which is here given in conformity with our ancient historians.

(5) Galfrid. Mat. West. (6) Galfrid. Ranulph. Mat. West. (7) Idem.

(8) Ut supra. (9) Usher, Prim. Eccles. Brit. proves this at large.

(10) Not only Claudia herself, who was the daughter of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus or Caractacus alias Arviragus, and Claudia's husband Pudens, were Christians, renowned for their sanctity, as we have said before, but also a great number of their descendants, as S S. Pudentiana and Praxedes, their daughters, (see Martyrolog. Rom. Maii 19) Novatus and

Hence they are recorded (1) as the protectors and benefactors of religion in their respective times and dominions; but it was reserved for their descendant Lucius, (surnamed from this circumstance, in allusion to his name, *Lever Maur*, or the *Great Light*,) (2) to discern, through the dark clouds of Pagan infidelity, the promised *Star of Jacob*, that had then risen upon the world, and to cause a great number of his subjects to see the same. The time, indeed, was exceedingly favourable for this purpose. For, in the first place, peace and moderation were as much the professed study of Antoninus Pius, (3) and of his two adopted successors, Marcus Aurelius (4) and Lucius Verus, (5) who were the then Roman emperors, as military glory and rigid authority over the subject nations were the objects of their predecessors in general. In the next place, Aurelius, in gratitude for the miraculous victory obtained over the Quadi in 171, by the prayers of his Christian legion, which, on this account, was called *The Thundering Legion*, (6) had recently published a decree in favour of the disciples of Christ, which he caused to be sent to all the provinces throughout the whole empire. (7)

S. Timotheus, their sons, the latter of whom is said to have come into Britain in order to preach the faith, about the year 161, though he afterwards returned to Rome, and was there martyred. He was second cousin to Lucius, and probably contributed greatly to his conversion.

(1) In the records of Glassenbury-abbey, it is said that three kings, though Pagans, protected the holy solitaries, who first established themselves there. These could be no other than Arviragus, Marius, and Coillus. Antiq. Glassen. Gul. Malm.

(2) " Lever Maur id est Magni Splendoris, propter fidem quæ in ejus tempore venit." Nennius, Hist. Brit. c. XVIII.

(3) " Eo usque amavit pacem (Antoninus Pius), ut Scipionis sententiam frequentarit, malle se unum civem servare quam mille hostes occidere." Julius Capitolinus. ed. Rob. Steph. p. 76.—The same prince passed a decree in favour of the Christians in the East. St. Justin. Martyr.

(4) Provincias ingenti moderatione & benignitate tractavit (Marcus Antoninus)." Idem. Jul. Cap. p. 91.

(5) " Confecto sane bello, regna regibus, provincias vero comitibus suis regendas dedit." (Lucius Verus). Id. p. 102.

(6) Tertul. Apol. Euseb. Hist. b.v. S. Apollinaris. Apolog. (7) Iidem.

All opposition on the part of the supreme authority being thus removed, Lucius, who was already of an advanced age, resolved to lose no more time in declaring himself a Christian: (1) and though many of his own subjects, no less than several eminent prelates in Gaul, (amongst whom was Ireneus, bishop of Lyons) were qualified to instruct him in its tenets, and to initiate him in its mysteries, (2) yet knowing how necessary both unity and jurisdiction are in the formation of a Christian church, he chose to receive his teachers and his prelates from the bishop of Rome, who at that time was S. Eleutherius. (3) His ambassadors, on this occasion, were Elvanus, of

(1) Authors are divided concerning the precise year of this remarkable event. It is proved by circumstances that Nennius places it too early, viz. in 164, and the Saxon Chronicle too late, viz. in 189. The precise year must have been between 176, when Eleutherius became pope, and 180, when Marcus Aurelius died.

(2) That there were many Christians at that time in Britain, appears from Origen, Tertullian, &c.

(3) Certain modern writers, taking offence at this circumstance, which, however, equally occurred at the conversion of the Picts, the Scotch, the Irish, our English Saxons, the different states of Germany, &c. have called in question the whole history of Lucius's conversion, and have even denied the existence of such a king. This, however, is the excess of scepticism, since hardly any point of our national history is more positively, unanimously, or circumstantially delivered than this is, by the Saxons, and other antagonists of the British writers, no less than by the Britons themselves, and by foreigners no less than by our native historians. To quote the authorities on this occasion would be almost equivalent to making a list of all our ancient authors, and other ecclesiastical writers, who treat of this period. Finally, the existence and christianity of Lucius are attested by coins, no less than by books and manuscripts. It may, however, be objected, that the most ancient of our British writers, Gildas, does not make mention of Lucius. The answer to this is obvious and satisfactory, as the short work of Gildas, which we have in print, *De Excidio Britanniæ*, is more in the nature of a sermon than of a history—2dly, Though the account in question is not found in the copies of this work, from which our printed editions are made, yet it certainly occurred in more ancient manuscripts of it, since it is referred to as being in chap VII. by Rudborne, Hist. Maj. Wint. l. 1, c. 1: as likewise in another work of Gildas, cited by Mat. West. ad An. CLXXXVI. With respect to the medals of Lucius, two of which are referred to by Usher, and a third is published by Camden, pl. XXXVII. no. 25, (where the name appears at full length, with the emblematic star,) it has been objected by an ingenious contemporary writer, (see Hist. of Manchester, c. XI) that these medals must be spurious, since Gildas informs us,

Glassenbury, and Medwinus, who appears to have been an inhabitant of this city. (1) They were probably both of them already Christians, and the latter is said to have afterwards received Orders, when at Rome. (2) The prelates whom Eleutherius pitched upon for this important business, were Fugatius and Duvianus, (3) by whom Lucius and his queen were baptized, with the greater part of their subjects. (4) Having thus established Christianity in Britain, the next concern of this pious prince was to provide for its support and continuance. He accordingly founded churches in each of the twenty-eight cities, which we learn from our most ancient authors (5) actually existed at that time in Britain, and had been the chief seats of the

chap.v. that "all the brass, silver, and gold in Britain, was marked with the impression of Cæsar." But it must be remembered, that this passage refers to a period prior to that in question, by about 120 years, namely, to that which immediately followed the defeat of Boadicea. Admitting Lucius and his predecessors to have stood as high in the favour of the Roman government, as they are described to have stood, we cannot doubt that this rule might, in their time, have been dispensed with; admitting it even to have been originally made, which indeed the words do not absolutely imply.—Lastly, A more general objection to the history of Lucius, has been the improbability of the Romans admitting a king to govern in a province, which was so absolutely subject to them, as Britain was in the second century.—This argument, indeed, would have weight, if the question were concerning an independent sovereign, but not when it relates only to such subaltern princes as our Lucius and his predecessors are supposed to have been. For such was also the succession of the Herods in Judæa; and, as we learn from Julius Capitolinus, in his account of these times, such were several princes in the eastern part of the Roman empire, who were actually the contemporaries of Lucius. We have already seen, in the passage quoted from Tacitus, that it was the standing policy of the Roman government to have kings for the tools of their ambition.

(1) Usher. Cressy Ch. Hist, &c.—These authors refer to ancient chronicles, in which Elvanus is said to be of Glastonbury, and Medwinus of the Belgæ; by which it is natural to understand the city of the Belgæ, as the inhabitants of Glassenbury belonged to the province of the Belgæ.

(2) Gul. Malm. Antiq. Glassen. Mat. West. Rudb. Hist. Maj. Martyr Rom. Usher, Cressy, &c.

(3) Iidem.

(4) Gildas, Nennius, Bede, &c.

(5) Iidem. Liber Abingdon.

Deo ejusque sanctis ecclesias dedicantes." Rudb. Hist. Maj. chap. II. ex Giraldo.



North East View of WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Flamines, or Pagan priests; settling upon the Christian priests the revenues which the former had before enjoyed. (1)

With respect to the hierarchy to be established, it seemed best to Lucius and his prelates, that the same should be observed, which had before obtained amongst the Flamines; according to which, London, York, and Caerleon, became metropolitical sees. (2) Hence our city of Venta, though the particular object of the regard of Lucius, (3) and probably the capital of his dominions, (4) was indeed left destitute of that pre-eminence, to which, as the chief city in the west, it was otherwise entitled; it, however, became a bishopric, (5) and was honoured with certain distinctions peculiar to itself. Instead of causing one of the Heathen temples in it to be purified and consecrated for the purpose of a Christian church, as Lucius did in the other cities, he built our cathedral from the ground, upon a scale

(1) All this was very practicable, admitting an almost general conversion of the country, as our writers in general describe it to have been. There are incontestable proofs, that in no place had Christianity taken so deep a root in these early ages as in Britain. This could hardly have been the case without some such measures as those which have been mentioned.

(2) The distinction of Flamines into Dialis, Martialis, &c. is well known; but besides this there must have been a system of subordination amongst them, which the monkish writers, perhaps, too closely assimilated to the hierarchy, with which they were acquainted in the Christian church.

(3) "Ecclesiam Wintoniensem speciali prærogativâ dilexit." (Lucius.) Rudb. Hist. Maj. chap. II.

(4) It has been a subject of much debate in which part of the island the dominions of Lucius were situated. Some have carried them to the north beyond the Picts wall, whilst others, as Usher and Stillingfleet, have confined them to the extremity of the south, in the counties of Sussex and Surrey. The arguments however which have been adduced to prove that the province of the Belgæ, enlarged with part of the territories of the Dobuni and the Regni, formed the kingdom of Arviragus, and that our city was his capital, seem equally to point out the peculiar dominion and metropolis of his great grandson Lucius. It is possible, however, that he might have been honoured with the civil jurisdiction of all the different Roman provinces in Britain. Or, without an actual authority, he might have effected all the changes ascribed to him by his talents, treasure, and influence.

(5) Rudb. Mat. West. &c.—"Templis Deorum a Paganosâ purificatis superstitione, uni Deo ejusque sanctis ecclesias dedicantes." Rudb. Hist. Maj. chap. II. ex Giraldo.

of grandeur and magnificence which has never since been equalled, (1) and bestowed upon it the right of sanctuary, with other privileges. (1) Moreover, as in this city had been the chief school of the Pagan Flamines, so Lucius annexed to the cathedral here a monastery, as our historian calls it, (3) or rather a community of clergy living together in common; one of whose members we shall afterwards find in a very different and unlooked for condition of life. The situation and dimensions of this first foundation of the cathedral will be more particularly described afterwards in our Survey of it. In the mean time, whilst this great work was in hand, our religious prince raised a temporary chapel near it, together with a small dwelling-house, containing a dormitory and refectory, for the use of the regular clergy who served it. (4) The above-mentioned magnificent work being completed, the cathedral was consecrated by thê prelates Fugatius and Duvianus, in the name of *The Holy Saviour*, and a religious bishop, by name Dinotus, (5) was vested with the spiritual authority and jurisdiction belonging to such a foundation.

It has been remarked by late writers as extraordinary that so little should occur in our original records concerning the time or other circumstances of the death and burial of this celebrated Christian king. One or two indeed of our historians assert, that he died and was buried at Gloucester;(6)

(1) Ecclesiam Wintoniensem *solummodo* ex fundamentis renovavit." (Rudb. Hist. Maj. ex Vigilancio.

(2) " Dedit Lucius prædictæ ecclesiæ, quam de novo fundaverat, suburbana civitatis cum privilegio Dunwallonis Molmucii." Idem. ex Moracio.

(3) Rudb. ibid. In different passages of his history he takes care to inform his readers that the monks, of whom he speaks, were of the nature of those instituted by St. Mark at Alexandria, who are described, at large, by Cassian, as also by Philo the Jew, who calls them Therapeutes. This attempt, however, of our monastic historian to carry up the antiquity of his profession into the three first ages of the church, is not warranted by ecclesiastical monuments. See the learned Thomassinus, vol. i. l. iii.—At all events the pretence of finding Therapeutes of Egypt, then in Britain, is perfectly absurd.

(4) Rudborne, ex Vigilancio.

(5) Ita Usserius. Rudborne calls him Devotus.

(6) Galfrid. l. v. Mat. West.

whilst a third, who supposes him to have been killed by the Picts, assigns York as the place of his interment. (1) The absurdity of the pretence set up by all our modern Winchester writers, (2) that his tomb is still to be seen at the east end of our cathedral, will be shewn when we come to describe that edifice. This silence or uncertainty of our native historians, gives some countenance to the report of the German writers, who say that a little before his death, either resigning his crown, (3) or being dispossessed of it by the Romans, he went abroad and preached the gospel in Bavaria, and in the country of the Grisons. (4) At all events, it is certain that with Lucius ended the dynasty of our British tributary princes; (5) our historians agreeing that the Roman emperors henceforward governed, entirely by their own officers, (6) all the four provinces, which they had reduced in the island. If, however, this was done for the security of the empire, and to prevent insurrections, as one writer informs us was the case, (7) the end was certainly defeated; for the fertility of this island in producing tyrants became notorious, as Gildas remarks (8) from Porphyrius. The first of these was Clodius Albinus, who declared himself emperor in 193. At first he was, from necessity, acknowledged as such by Severus: and it is plain, that had the army, which he led out of Britain to assert his claim, evinced as much discipline as they shewed bravery at the battle of Lyons, (9) his name would have still been inscribed in the fasti of emperors, whilst that of his competitor Severus would have been degraded to the list of tyrants.

(1) Diceto, inter 10 Scrip. p. 555.

(2) History and Antiquities of the Cathedral of Winchester, by Lord Clarendon and Sam. Gale, p. 34. Description of ditto, by the Rev. Thomas Warton, p. 83. Hist. of Winchester, vol. 1, p. 59. Winchester Guide, p. 47.

(3) Fordun countenances this opinion, where he says, "Lucio rege mortuo, vel non comparente." Scot. Hist. l. II. c. XXXI.

(4) Raderius in Bav. Sac. Baronius Annal. Martyrolog. Rom.

(5) Galfrid. Mat. West. Rad. Dicet. &c.

(6) Joannes Fordun, ibid, &c.

(7) Hector Boethius, Hist. Scot.

(8) De Excid. c. II.

(9) Herodian, l. III.

Of the succeeding tyrants, (1) as they were called, who disturbed the tranquillity of Britain during the space of a century, we do not find any one whose history is at all connected with that of this city, (2) until the reign of Diocletian, about the year 281. At that time Carausius, an experienced sea officer, (3) was appointed to the command of what may be called the imperial channel fleet, in order to scour the seas of those innumerable Frank and Saxon pirates, (4) who infested the shores both of Gaul and Britain. In this capacity he found out the natural strength of this island; and having gained the confidence of his sailors, instead of being daunted at the threats of the emperor, Maximinian, who was desirous of displacing him, he set him at defiance, and assumed the imperial purple, which he continued to wear seven years. (5) During a part of this time he was acknowledged as a partner in the empire by Maximinian himself, (6) who found all the strength of the Roman empire inadequate to the task of subduing the isle of Britain, whilst defended by a superior navy. At the end of the above-mentioned term, while Constantius Chlorus, then newly declared Cæsar, was building a fleet, (7) with a view of once more uniting this island with the body of the Roman empire, Carausius was supplanted and slain by the treachery of his friend Allectus (8) Constantius employed three years in making his preparations for the invasion of Britain; during

(1) Posthumius, Tetricus Bonosus, &c. the last of whom was by birth a Briton.

(2) On the contrary, our historian seems to refer to the whole of this period, when he speaks of the peace and security of the city, and the populousness of the adjoining country, in which he says there were eight good villages within the compass of twelve miles, in every direction from our city of Venta. "In illis diebus latronum mucrones cessabant, nec erat qui violentiam alicui ingereret; erantque ab unaquâque parte civitatis, in quolibet duodenario numero passuum, octo viculi optimi. Rudb. Hist. Maj. Wint. l. 1. c. III.

(3) Bede, Eccles. Hist. l. 1. c. IV.

(4) The real ancestors both of the French and of the English people, the former being then seated in the north parts of Holland, and the latter beyond the Elbe.

(5) Bede ut supra.

(6) One of the medals of Carausius records this his treaty of peace with Maximian.

(7) Eumenius Rhetor. (8) Bede.

all which time Allectus governed it with as great dignity and power as any former emperor had done; wearing the imperial crown and purple, and coining money in great abundance, with his impression and insignia upon it. As the ordinary station of the British fleet during his reign, as likewise that of his predecessor, appears to have been upon our coast, within the isle of Wight, (1) and as it was not safe for either of these maritime emperors to lose sight, for a long time, of that force upon which their very existence depended: hence it is not rash to assign our city for the principal place of their residence, when on shore. This conjecture is confirmed by the coins of these two usurpers, dug up in this city or found in the neighbouring fields; which exceed, in number, those of any two lawful emperors whomsoever.

The preparations of Constantius for his long threatened invasion being completed, he still found himself unable to dispute the empire of the seas with Allectus, whose fleet continued to lie off the isle of Wight, (2) probably in that very station where the main strength of the British navy is at the present time generally found at anchor. He therefore had recourse to stratagem, dividing his fleet into separate squadrons, in order to make a descent at different points of the coast, at one and the same time. He also took the advantage of hazy weather, the more securely to effect the passage. (3) The squadron under the command of the prætorian prefect Asclepiodotus, which was most exposed, but which, favoured by the hazy weather, sailed unobserved close by the tyrant's fleet, and landed its troops on our neighbouring coast, had the chief honour of this important conquest. For Allectus, instead of engaging Constantius himself, who had disembarked in a different quarter, flew to oppose Asclepiodotus, by whom he was defeated and slain. However, as the general in chief followed the motions of the tyrant, and soon after the day was gained (4) arrived at the scene of action, which must have taken place very near our city; it is highly probable that it was the first to receive this celebrated conqueror within its walls, and to pay him those congratulations, which, we are assured, (5)

(1) Eumenius Rhetor. (2) Idem. (3) Idem. (4) Idem. (5) Idem.

he was welcomed with by the Britons in general. This event is to be assigned to the year of Christ 294.

If there is a high probability that the civil state of Venta remained undisturbed during the century of which we have been speaking, we have a positive assurance that this was the case with respect to its ecclesiastical establishment. For, though we have not been able to obtain any names or details in this line, we are assured in general, that the public service of religion, in all its solemnity, was uninterruptedly performed in the magnificent cathedral church which Lucius had built for that purpose; and that the bishops and clergy attached to it remained in quiet possession of the ample revenues with which he had invested them, until the grand effort of Pagan violence to crush Christianity was made, of which Dioclesian was the chief instrument. (1) This is conformable to the account of our historians in general, (2) without whose concurring testimony we could not have believed that persecutions so severe and general, as were those of Maximian, Decius, and Valerian, and which, we know, extended themselves over the neighbouring provinces of Gaul, should not have reached this island. The only way of solving this difficulty is by supposing, in conformity with the account of our ancient historians, that Christianity was much more general and more firmly established in this island, than in any other part of the empire; and that the Roman government was apprehensive of irritating a people, whom, on account of their distance and their insular situation, it was so much more difficult to hold in subjection, than those of other countries. These motives, however, had no influence

(1) Requievit ex tunc religio monastica in ecclesiâ Wyntoniensi, quietâ in pace & pacificâ possessione, Domino jugiter conjubilans 102 annis, a 1mo anno regni Lucii Christianissimi principis, usque 2dum annum Diocletiani tyranni." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. 1, c. III.—What our author, who was a monk of Winchester cathedral, here says of the *religio monastica*, from a too eager zeal to advance the antiquity of his order, is to be understood of the regular clergy who then served it. The chronology also of our historian, in these early ages, is often defective, as his editor, Henry Warton, has proved.

(2) Gildas, Hist. c. VII. Bede, Eccles. Hist. l. 1, c. IV. VI. Chron. Sax. Hen. Hunt. l. 1. Mat. West. &c.

over Diocletian and his colleague Maximian, surnamed Herculeus; who, in the year 303 or 304, (1) extended the flames of persecution, which they had before enkindled in the heart of the empire, to the remotest parts of it, and to Britain in particular. It was on this occasion that St. Alban, who is said to have been a person of great distinction, (2) and who is celebrated by foreign no less than by our own writers, (3) was put to death at Werlamcester, now called St. Alban's, (4) for entertaining in his house a priest, who was himself seized upon and put to a cruel death, being embowelled alive. This priest, whose name and memory became famous in our city, was called Amphiballus. Many other persons of each sex suffered martyrdom at this time in different parts of Britain, by the most horrible and refined cruelties. (5)

As in no part of the island religion flourished more than at Venta, so no where did the storm of persecution fall more heavily. The stately cathedral of Lucius, with the adjoining college of ecclesiastics, was levelled with the ground; and the ecclesiastics themselves were all slaughtered, except a few who saved themselves by flight. This account concerning the persecution in our city is conformable to that of Gildas and Bede, (6) with respect to the general treatment of Christianity throughout the island, at this period. These historians add, that the surviving Christians, who had not renounced their faith, hid themselves in woods, deserts, and caves, waiting until a just Providence should repress the fury of their enemies, and afford them the protection which they prayed for. (7)

(1) There is a great difference in the chronology of different writers concerning the time of this persecution. Rudborne places it in his great history in 266, and, less erroneously, in his little history in 296. The Saxon Chronicle assigns the year 283; Matthew Westminster 303, with whom Eusebius and Lactantius nearly agree.

(2) He is called in the Saxon Martyrology *Œconomus*, or Procurator of Britain.

(3) "Albanum egregium fœcunda Britannia profert." Fortunat. in Laud. Virg.

(4) Bede, Hist. c. VII.

(5) "Passi sunt eâ tempestate Aaron & Julius, legionum urbis (Caerleon) cives, aliique utriusque sexûs diversis in locis perplures. Qui diversis cruciatibus torti, & inauditâ membrorum discerptione lacerati, animas ad supernæ civitatis gaudia, perfecto agone miserunt." Bede, ibid. Similiter fere Gildas, c. VIII. (6) Ibid. (7) Gildas, c. VIII.

CHAP. IV.

Discontinuance of the Persecution.—The Cathedral rebuilt.—Change in the Civil Government of the City.—Rebellion of Magnentius and of Maximus.—Consequences of the same.—The City plundered by an Army of Irish.—A Monk of the Cathedral becomes Emperor.—The Island abandoned by the Romans.

THE persecution does not appear to have lasted in Britain above two years. (1) The merit of putting a stop to it is ascribed to Constantius Chlorus; who, in the year 305, was declared successor to Maximian, and emperor of the west, and thereby left at liberty to follow his inclinations in favour of Christianity. The share, however, which he previously had in carrying it on, whilst he was Cæsar, or heir apparent of the empire, in compliance with the will of Maximian, is not so generally known, being lightly touched upon by ecclesiastical historians, (2) out of gratitude for his own favours to the church, and still more for those conferred upon it by his son, the Great Constantine. In a word, the Christians now left their hiding places, and began again to hold their religious assemblies. They did not, however, venture to rebuild their churches, which had been levelled to the ground, until the famous edict of Constantine, in the year 312, subsequent to his victory over the tyrant Maxentius, authorized them to do it. Indeed,

(1) Gildas says that it lasted almost two lustrums, or 10 years, but this must be understood of its continuance on the continent, particularly in the eastern empire; " Igitur bilustro supra dicti turbinis necdum ad integrum adimpleto, &c."—Florilegus makes it last until the seventh year of Constantine, evidently to make up the number of these ten years, and not distinguishing between the persecution which took place in this island, and that which raged in Italy and the east.

(2) Eusebius, Lactantius, &c.—The latter indeed admits that Chlorus pulled down churches, in compliance with the edict, which, he says, he unwillingly received. But it is true that our clergy of Venta, as well as St. Alban and the other martyrs, were put to death by his authority; Britain being under his peculiar jurisdiction, and the ordinary place of his residence during the time of his being Cæsar.

until this time, Christianity was only practised by connivance in Britain, and was actually persecuted in most other places.

But now, all restraint being removed, and the constituted authorities every where declaring in favour of Christianity; the churches began to vie with each other in the magnificence of their religious fabrics, which they dedicated to God in honour of the martyrs who had lately suffered, and in the splendour of their public service. (1) Our citizens of Venta were inferior to no other in these demonstrations of Christian zeal. They accordingly, without loss of time, set about rebuilding their cathedral (2) and proper habitations for the clergy; (3) but though they had a Roman emperor to protect them in the execution of this pious work, they had not a British king to assist them in furnishing the expences of carrying it on. So far from this, they were reduced to the necessity of collecting money from individuals. (4) The consequence was, that the second cathedral of Venta, like the second temple of Jerusalem, was greatly inferior to the first, (5) though built upon the same spot, and in the same form. (6) It appears to have taken up five years to rebuild the church and the adjoining mansions; (7) which being completed, the whole was dedicated by the bishop Constans, in honour of St. Amphiballus, the martyr, Deodatus being superior of the clergy who then served the cathedral. (8)

(1) " Lætis luminibus omnes Christi tyrones, quasi post hyemalem ac prolixam noctem, temperiem lucemque serenam auræ cælestis excipiunt; renovantque ecclesias ad solum usque destructas, basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiuntque, ac velut victricia arma passim propalant, &c." Gildas, Hist. c. VIII. Bede, Hist. Ecc. l. I. c. VIII.

(2) Rudborne, Hist. Maj. l. I. c. VI. (3) Ibid.

(4) " Reædificata est ecclesia Wyntoniensis secundò a Christi fidelium oblationibus." Hist. Maj. ibid. (5(Idem ex Moracio. Auc. Antiq.

(6) This is clear from what Rudborne says of its relative situation with respect to the bishop's palace, &c.

(7) This is gathered from the narration of Rudborne. His dates, however, are erroneous in this, as well as in former instances, from having set his chronological scale upwards of 20 years too forward. We must again remark that our author's partiality for his own profession causes him to strain historical facts beyond their due bounds, in favour of its antiquity.

(8) Idem ex Giraldo Cornub. & Vigilantio.

We have seen that Venta continued to have a bishop after the persecution, no less than before it. In fact, the British prelates, not forming a body apart, but communicating in faith, discipline, and hierarchy, with the body of the church, and joining with it in its councils and synods, and on all public occasions, (1) were convinced that no alteration in their ecclesiastical government could validly take place by means of any civil commotion or other cause, except by the decree of a competent ecclesiastical authority. Still, however, we learn, that the same cause, which disturbed the internal peace of the church at large, produced its effect in the churches of Britain also. This was the restless spirit of Arianism, which, though seemingly crushed at Nice, was afterwards able to "corrupt, with the poison of its errors, (2) a great part of the world, and even this remote island;" which our author describes as being "out of the world." Allowing for a certain temporary confusion occasioned by this heresy, and, a century afterwards, by that of Pelagianism, the author of which was a British monk; we are assured that the church of Venta remained in perfect peace; its ministers continuing to perform their religious functions with edifying piety until the next grand revolution, occasioned by the invasion of our immediate ancestors, the Saxons. (3)

(1) A certain number of them, as representatives of the rest, were present at the first council of Arles, in 313, in which those who kept Easter and the moveable feasts at a wrong time, were condemned; (c. I.) and at the general council of Sardica, in 347, in which the liberty of appeals to the bishop of Rome was confirmed. Can. III. IV. VII.—In a word, the British churches were appealed to, as orthodox, by St. Athanasius and all the great luminaries of that time.

(2) Bede, Hist. Ecc. l. I. c. VIII. Gildas, &c.—The event to which Ven. Bede particularly alludes on this occasion, is the council of Ariminium, at which the British bishops, as usual, were present. In this no erroneous tenet was sanctioned, but only too much courtly policy prevailed, under the specious pretext of peace and union. The consequences were, that the Arian party boasted of their orthodoxy, and the great Catholic majority complained that they were betrayed, or, as St. Jerom emphatically expresses it, "Ingemuit Orbis & se Arianum esse miratus est."

(3) Rudborne, Hist. Maj. l. I. sub finem.

But we must now look back to the civil state of this city and province during the above mentioned period. Constantius Chlorus enjoyed the imperial dignity but a short time, dying at York (1) in 306; and was succeeded by his son Constantine the Great, who was born in Britain. Thus it happened that the first Christian emperor, no less than the first Christian king, was a native of this island, for which benefit and honour we seem, in both instances, to be indebted to the virtues and piety of British ladies. By what has been said, it appears that the conversion of Lucius may in a great measure be ascribed to his illustrious aunt, Claudia Ruffina: at all events, it is certain that the seeds of Christianity were sown in the infant mind of Constantine by his religious mother St. Helen; who was unquestionably a native of this island, born at Colchester. (2)

Constantine having seen, with his own eyes, the state of the island, was enabled, in the general regulation which he made for the government of the empire, (3) to distribute the offices, jurisdiction, and military force which he appointed for it, according to the circumstances in which it then was, and the exigencies of the times. By virtue of the new arrangement, Venta became subject to *The Honourable Count of the Saxon Coast*, as he was called. (4) It was his peculiar business to protect the whole southern coast of the island, with a certain extent of the eastern coast, from the invasion of the Saxon pirates, by whom, it has already been observed, they were grievously infested. (5) For this purpose he had not only a fleet under his orders, but also a considerable

(1) The reason why this emperor resided chiefly at York, as his predecessor Severus had done, was because that was the most distinguished city in the north; which quarter was the chief scene of military actions against the Caledonians, and therefore the principal station of the Roman forces, and of their commanders.

(2) See the proofs of this, apud Camden in his account of Colchester, Usher, Antiq. Collier, Ecc. Hist. Cressy, &c.

(3) Zozimus. (4) Notitia Dignitatum.

(5) Hence the poet Claudiam, in his panegyric on the Roman general Stilicho, makes Britannia say of him:—

"Me....munivit, ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis."

army, both of horse and foot, which was stationed at proper distances throughout the whole extent of the exposed coast. (1) Our city, however, being too far within the land to dread the insults of these rovers, does not appear to have been burdened with a garrison; though it was probably the seat of some of the civil officers who were attached to the office of the above mentioned count. (2) Certain it is, as we have said before, that the *Procurator Gynegii in Britannia*, or director of the imperial manufactory of cloth, resided here at the time we are speaking of. (3)

These regulations, however, were far from securing the future peace of Britain, there being many usurpers and much interior disturbance in the island during the greater part of the time that the Romans remained masters of it. The first of these usurpers, if there is any truth in his history, must have had a particular relation with this city, in quality of duke or king (4) of the Belgic Britons, (5) whose metropolis certainly was our city of Venta. He is called Octavius, (6) and is said to have conquered, near Porchester, where he landed, Trahernus, the uncle of St. Helen, who was sent by the emperor against him; and to have preserved his power until the reign of Gratian and Valentinian. There is generally a foundation for the most inconsistent relations of our old British writers, which modern authors will not take the trouble of examining into. Thus we have reason to believe that Octavius was no other than the tyrant Magnentius, who was of a British family, and having assassinated Constans, one of the sons of Constantine, possessed himself both of Britain and Gaul, which he held during three years; at which time one Gratianus, surnamed Funarius, was the Roman general in Britain. (7)

Historians are better agreed concerning Maximus, who was a native of this island, (8) and had commanded in it with the highest character,

(1) Vide Notitiam Dignitatum. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Mat. West.

(5) The country in question is the same which is now called the Western Circuit.

(6) Mat. West. Galfrid. Ranulph. Diceto.—The last makes Trahernus overcome Octavius

(7) Am. Marcel. (8) Zozimus, whom Carte and Guthrie follow, says he was a Spaniard, but Gildas, our best native historian, who calls him a Briton, deserves more credit, "Maximus a Britannia oriundus." Hen. Hunt. &c.

both for military talents and probity; in short, one whom all mankind would have judged worthy of the imperial purple, if he had been content to remain in an inferior station. (1) But having unfortunately listened to the acclamations of his army, proclaiming him emperor, his ambition proved not only his own ruin, but also that of his country. For having to oppose the whole strength of the empire, chiefly with such succours as this island could afford, he stripped it of almost every man who was capable of bearing arms. Shipping was provided by Maximus to transport this immense army to the continent, where it was to assert his cause: but when, after having killed the emperor Gratian, he himself fell under the power of Theodosius, on the other side of the Alps, the British youth, who found their way back to the shores of the channel, seem to have wanted the means of conveying themselves across it. However that may be, it is certain that they did not return home, but established themselves on the coast of Armorica; (2) the country from which the main stock of their ancestors originally came, (3) and which, from this circumstance, acquired the name of Britanny; (4) a name that it has ever since borne. (5) The

(1) "Vir strenuus & probus atque Augusto dignus; nisi contra sacramenti fidem per tyrannidem emersisset in Britannia." Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. 1, c. IX.

(2) "Juventus quæ comitata vestigiis supradicti tyranni, domum nusquam ultra rediit." Gildas, c. XI.—"Hi sunt Britones Armorici & nusquam reversi sunt ad proprium solum, usque in hodiernum diem." Nennius, Hist. Brit. c. XXIII. Hen. Hunt.

(3) See p. 5. (4) La Bretagne.

(5) Geoffry of Monmouth and Cardinal Baronius, from an ancient MS. found in the Vatican library, relate that these British soldiers, when settled in Armorica, being desirous of having wives of their own nation, sent over to Britain for this purpose. Several thousands of young women, some say 11,000, were accordingly collected together, and put on board of vessels, to be conveyed to the new colony. Being under sail for the Armorican ports, a violent storm arose from the west, in which some of the transports, with all the women on board of them, were lost: the rest being driven far to the east, were forced to seek for refuge in a harbour at the mouth of the Rhine. Here they found two famous pirates, Malga a Pict, and Gaunus a Hun, with a fleet under their command. In a word, these Christian heroines, persisting, with invincible fortitude, to defend their honour, the lust of the barbarians was turned into fury, and they accordingly put them all to the sword. This the learned Cardinal supposes to be the true history of the celebrated British virgins and martyrs

death of Maximus happened in the year 388 according to some writers, in 392 according to others.

There is more reason for dwelling on this expedition, as, to the consequences of it in depriving Britain of her warlike youth, our historians attribute her subsequent calamities; (1) which there is reason to suspect were felt more severely in our city than in many other parts. For now those numberless hordes of fierce and needy barbarians, reaching from mount Caucasus to the Baltic sea, whom the Roman armies had hitherto with so much difficulty restrained within their bounds, having at length overcome all opposition, came pouring in, like an inundation, upon every part of the civilized world, and in the end made a complete conquest of Europe and of Africa, until they met in the remote parts of each with other barbarians still fiercer and poorer than themselves. It is not likely that Britain, or at least the part that was opulent and civilized, should long escape a calamity which involved the rest of the empire: nevertheless our historians are confident that the Britons would have repulsed their enemies, but for the aforesaid selfish policy of the tyrant Maximus. What is certain is, that at the time we are speaking of, namely the end of the fourth century, whilst the Goths and other barbarians were invading the heart of the empire, the Scots, Picts, and Norwegians, with still increasing numbers from Scandinavia, carried their victorious arms over the northern provinces of this island; (3) whilst the Irish, under their king Neil Nao-gaillac,

St. Ursula and her companions, who are commemorated in the ancient martyrologies, and in whose memory churches were erected in Germany, within two centuries after the period in question. He brings strong collateral proofs in support of this history, which, it appears, he would not have admitted on the credit of Geoffry alone. Vide Notas Bellarmini in Martyrol. Roman. Oct. 21. also Annales and Mat. West. ad an. 392.—Other writers, as Usher, Cressy, and Butler, agree in the substance of this story, but refer it to a later emigration of the Britons into Armorica.

(1) "A quibus (militibus) spoliata emarcuit Britannia." Hen. Hunt. Gildas, &c.

(2) "O Divinam, ob præterita scelera vindictam! O tot, per vesaniam Maximi tyranni bellicosorum militum absentiam!" Joan. Fordun, Hist. Scot. l. III. c. X.

(3) Gildas, c. XI.

landing in the west, spread desolation to the very shores opposite to Gaul. (1) In such a case, these freebooters were not likely to neglect visiting a city so wealthy as Venta then was. Hence we see the grounds for supposing that our city was once possessed and plundered by the Irish.

It is true there was still a military establishment of Romans in the island; but this being much neglected, on account of the state of affairs on the Continent, it was in general too weak and too much divided, to be able to repress such powerful invasions. The same circumstances gave rise to frequent seditions and rebellions amongst the soldiers themselves, so that they successively set up three emperors in Britain, in defiance of the reigning emperors, Arcadius and Honorius; the former of whom governed the east, the latter the west. These were Marcus, (2) Gratian, (3) and Constantine; the two former they murdered, after a few months reign; the last mentioned, with his son Constans, acted a longer and more remarkable part on the stage of human affairs, and which, from certain circumstances, requires to be mentioned in the history of this city. The historians who deserve the most credit (4) tell us, that Constantine was a man of mean birth, and of little merit, who was chosen emperor merely on account of his name being deemed auspicious; (5) that, instead of making head against the barbarians, he imitated the conduct of his predecessor Maximus, in draining the island of all the youth in it, capable of bearing arms, whom he transported to the Continent, to fight his battles there; and that like Maximus he met with some success at first, but was

(1) This fact is collected by Carte, from an ancient life of St. Patrick. Gen. Hist of Eng. vol. 1, p. 169.—What in some degree confirms it is a passage of Claudian, in which he speaks of Ireland as bemoaning the loss of her *Scottish* sons, destroyed by Stilicho. Now this destruction must have happened in Britain, as that general certainly never invaded Ireland; "Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."—Bede also mentions different invasions of the Irish on the southern coast: "Revertantur ergo impudentes grassatores Hyberni domum: post non longum tempus reversuri. Picti in extremâ parte insulæ tunc primum & deinceps quieverunt." Bede, l. 1, c. XIV.

(2) Zozimus.

(3) Bede, &c.

(4) Bede, Hen. Hunt. &c. Sozomen.

(5) Bede, ibid.

in the end cut off and slain, whilst his troops, like their former brethren, being unable to obtain a passage home, were forced to retire to Armorica. They agree also that this tyrant had a son, whose name was Constans, and who was by profession a monk; that upon the appearance of his good fortune, he withdrew this son from his solitude, and created him first Cæsar, and then emperor, in which capacity he conquered Spain. Other historians, (1) whose account of these transactions differs from that just delivered, in many particulars, yet agree in the circumstance of Constance being a monk; they moreover add, that he was a monk of the church of St. Amphiballus, in this city. This event of a monk of Winchester church attaining to the dignity of Roman emperor, (to which Camden (2) and other great writers give credit) though in the end his ambition proved fatal to him, is singularly interesting, and otherwise important, as it proves that our cathedral, during this second foundation, was served by monks. (3)

The strength and courage both of the Romans and the Britons being nearly exhausted, the former were now as desirous of abandoning this island, as they before had been eager to gain possession of it; whilst, on the contrary, the Britons evinced as much earnestness in retaining the Roman soldiers, as their ancestors had formerly shewn in repelling them. In 418, the danger from the barbarous invaders appears to have been so imminent and universal, that the Romans for the most part quitted the island in such haste, as to leave their money behind them. (4) On two

(1) Galfrid. Mat. West. Diceto. Higden.

(2) Britannia, vide Winchester. For this fact, viz. that Constans was a monk of our cathedral, Trussel cites the archives of the same.

(3) It is certain there were many other monasteries at this period in Britain, as for example those of Bangor, Glassenbury, Abingdon, &c. Of the first mentioned monastery three abbots were famous, Pelagius, the heretic, A. D. 400; Gildas, the writer, in 550; and Nennius, the historian, in 620. In his time, viz. when this monastery was destroyed by king Edilfrid, its inhabitants were divided into seven bands, each of which consisted of 300 monks, making in the whole 2,100 religious men. Bede, l. II. c. II.

(4) " Hoc anno, 418. Romani coacervarunt omnes, qui essent in Britannia, auri thesauros,

occasions, however, about the year 420, at the earnest request of the Britons, a legion was sent over to their assistance, which was of singular service to them in repelling their invaders; (2) but having requested the same favour a third time, in the year 446, Aëtius, to whom the petition was addressed, was, from the circumstances of the times, under the necessity of refusing to comply with it. (3) Thus this devoted people was left to the extremity of misery, being at the same time a prey to famine and the sword; (4) with no other choice left, than to determine to which of their two enemies it was better to abandon themselves, the cruel Picts, who laid waste their country by land, or the fierce Saxons, who infested their shores by piratical invasions.

ac partim in terram occultabant, ubi postea nullus invenire posset, partim in Galliam secum asportarunt." Chron. Sax. ex vers. Gibsoni.

(2) Bede, l. I. c. XII.

(3) Idem, l. I. c. XIII.

(4) Idem, l. I. c. XIV.

CHAP. V.

The Saxons invited into Britain.—A Western Chieftain, Vortigern is chosen King of the Britons.—Aurelius Ambrosius elected King, in the Place of Vortigern.—He resides at Venta.—His Brother, Uther, succeeds him, and is there crowned.—Cerdic, the Founder of the West Saxon Kingdom, lands at Cerdicshore.—Reduces Venta and extirpates its British Inhabitants.—Condition of Winchester, now re-peopled with Jutes.—Capital of the West Saxon Kingdom.—Cerdic is crowned there.—Enters into a Treaty with the British King Arthur.—Fabulous History of the latter refuted.—Sources of those Fables, and his real History traced.—Succession of West Saxon Kings.—Winchester, under one of them, becomes the Metropolis of the Southern Part of the Island.

UPON the retreat of the Romans, the several provinces of Britain fell under the dominion of different independent princes, (1) until a sense of their common danger forced them to unite together in choosing a general in chief or king, as their ancestors had done at Cæsar's invasion, in order the more effectually to concentrate their force, and act in concert for their safety. It is natural to suppose that the prince of our western district (2) was then the most powerful man in the island, as he was able, without either public or private merit, (3) to command the voices at this meeting, and to get himself chosen king. This was the noted Vortigern, and as Venta was incontestably the chief city in his native domain, so it may be considered as having risen, by this election, to the dignity of metropolis,

(1) We read at this time of Gundleus, Melianus, and other petty kings in Britain. See Capgrave. Ang. Sac.

(2) "Vortigernus Consul Gewissorum." Mat. West. Galfrid.

(3) Gildas, Gul. Malm. &c.

or chief city of the island; and this dignity it held during the time that his power lasted. His notorious sloth and sensuality lead us the more readily to believe what certain writers relate concerning his bad success against the northern nations; (1) as, without such a situation of affairs, we can hardly suppose he would have been able to persuade the general council of the Britons (2) to invite and receive with open arms another hostile nation, whose very name had hitherto struck them with dread. (3) These were the Saxons; who were too well acquainted with the local advantages of this island, to refuse the offer of gaining a settlement in it. They accordingly landed in the year 449, in the isle of Thanet, (which was appointed for their place of abode,) (4) under the command of the brothers Hengist and Horsa; and they very soon justified the opinion which had been formed of their valour, by defeating, with great slaughter, the Picts and Scots, who had extended their invasion as far as Stamford, in Lincolnshire. (5) On this occasion, the superiority of their battle axes and long swords over the lances and darts of the Picts was manifestly displayed. (6) Having performed this service, they grow turbulent, under a pretence that they are not furnished with provisions in a sufficient quantity; and are accused of a design to seize upon the country for themselves. The Britons become impatient and depose the sensual Vortigern, who had been inveigled to marry Hengist's daughter. His brave son Vortimer is chosen to replace him, who soon brings on a battle with the Saxons, in which his brother Catigern, who, with Aurelius Ambrosius, (7) commanded under Vortimer, falls on one side,

(1) Certain Scotch writers affirm that he lost 20,000 men, with his general, Gurellus, in a battle with their ancestors. See Verstegan's Restitution of Decayed intelligence, p. 93.

(2) "Initur Consilium." Gildas, c. XXII.—"Placuit omnibus." Hen. Hunt.

(3) "O desperabilem crudamque mentis hebitudinem! Quos propensius morte, cum abessent tremebant, sponte, ut ita dicam, sub unius tecti culmine invitabant." Gildas, c. XXIII.

(4) Wil. Malm. De Gestis Angl. l. I.

(5) Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. II.

(6) Securibus gladiisque longis." Hen. Hunt. ibid. Yet Hume, Hist. of England, c. I. ascribes their success to the *shortness* of their swords!

(7) Ibid.

whilst Hengist loses his brother Horsa, on the other.(1) Vortimer dies a natural death in 456, upon which Vortigern regains his authority. This event gives great hopes to the Saxons, who know how to avail themselves of his slothful temper, and who are accused of owing their success as much to treachery as to valour; particularly in the tragical event at Amesbury, in which 300 (2) of the principal Britons are, upon a signal given by Hengist, murdered with the weapons from which the Saxons derive their name, (3) and the weak monarch Vortigern is taken prisoner, who, to recover his liberty, is content to resign to them three whole counties, (4) and the four principal cities in the island, London, Lincoln, Winchester, and York. These they accordingly seize upon, and immediately proceed to fill them with their sacrileges and cruelties, destroying churches, profaning relics of the martyrs, burning the holy scriptures, and murdering the clergy upon their altars. (5)

(1) Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. II.

(2) Florilegus makes their number amount to 460, but the account of the judicious William of Malmsbury is here followed; who, though a declared enemy to the fables of the Britons, yet by adopting this adventure places it beyond all dispute. His words are, "Interea Hengistus vicio quodam humani generis, ut quo plus habeas plus ambias, fraude, subornata, generum (Vortigernum) ad convivium, cum 300 suorum invitat, cumque frequentioribus poculis invitatos ad tumultum animasset, & unumquemque ex industriâ, falsa dicacitate, perstringeret, primò ad jurgia, mox ad arma ventum est. Ita Britones ad unum jugulati animas inter vina evomuere." De Gestis Reg. l. I.

(3) It seems to be agreed among the learned, (see Verstegan, p. 17, &c.) that the Saxons were so called from their crooked swords and daggers, which they termed Seaxes, (whence our word axe) such as the Germans are seen fighting with on Trajan's pillar.—Carte and Hume deny the whole of this history, but, in their usual way, they have recourse to ridicule for want of argument. The former says, that this story is borrowed from Whitichindus, who relates it of the Thuringers; but Nennius, who tells it of the Saxons, lived three hundred years before Whitichindus!

(4) "Tribus provinciis." Gul. Malm.

(5) Mat. West. ad. an. 462. The whole of this account is conformable to that of Gildas and Bede. The latter says, "Proximas quasque civitates agrosque depopulans, ab orientali mari usque ad occidentale, nullo prohibente, suum continuavit incendium, totamque prope insulæ pereuntis superficiem obtexit. Ruebant ædificia publica simul & privata passim sacerdotes inter altaria trucidabantur, &c." Hist. Ecc. l. I. c. XIII.

The Britons never seem to have fought well until they were reduced to the brink of despair. This was their present situation. They accordingly elect, for their general, the only man amongst them who was equal to so difficult a command, and who appears to have been brother to our above-mentioned celebrated monk and emperor, Constans.(1) Marching with courage and confidence, under his command, they gained a signal victory over their terrible enemies, (2) and appear to have entirely driven them from this city and neighbourhood; where, of course, the Christian rites and the former government were again established. (3) After this they continued to engage the Saxons, with doubtful success, until the famous battle of Bath, in 493, (4) in which the young hero Arthur, serving under the command of Ambrosius, (5) performed pro-

(1) Bede and Gildas say, that he was almost the only man who remained in the island of the ancient Roman race, that his parents had been honoured with the purple, and had been killed, whilst yet the Roman power prevailed. Now it was only 50 years since Constantine, the father of the monk Constans, assumed the purple in Britain, and the said monk is reported by Sozomen, to have been the eldest of his sons. This opinion, concerning the pedigree of Ambrosius, is supported by Cressy and Speed out of ancient MSS. The present happy choice of a general and king happened only one year before the miserable Vortigern was burnt to death in his castle in Wales, viz. in 466.—N.B. This account of the pedigree of Ambrosius, which the author first hazarded on mere conjecture, he has since found to rest upon ancient authority. Benedictus Claudiocestrensis in Vita S. Dubritii, c. IV.—Angl. Sac. vol. II. p. 656, says, " Ambrosio Aurelio filio Constantini, &c." Now Gildas, Hist. c. XXV. speaks of the sons of Ambrosius as reigning in his time in Wales. These appear to have been Cadwan and Cadwallo, from whom the Tudors derived their descent. Thus a collateral branch is added to the pedigree of his present Majesty, and the history of our Winchester monk is seen in a more interesting point of view.

(2) Bede, Hist. l. I. c. XVI.

(3) This appears by the subsequent history and other circumstances.

(4) " XLIV. anno adventûs eorum in Angliam." Gildas, Bede.—Carte uses many arguments to prove that the Badonicus Mons, where this celebrated battle was fought, is not the city of Bath, but a certain hill in Hampshire. He has, however, in this instance, overlooked our most ancient historian, who says, " Usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici Montis qui prope Sabrinum ostium habetur." Gildas, cap. ult.

(5) " Intumescentes barbaros eximiâ bellicosi Arthuri operâ pressit. (Ambrosius.") Gul. Malm. l. I.

digies of valour, (1) and the Pagan army was defeated with immense slaughter.

Upon this success it appears that Ambrosius enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, which he spent in this his western capital. At least here it was that the envious Pascentius, the third legitimate son (2) of Vortigern, found him, by whom he was never forgiven for having been preferred to himself in the succession of the crown. Having therefore bribed a certain Saxon, by name Eoppa, to feign himself a physician, he, by his means, poisoned this magnanimous monarch; (3) who dying at Venta, was nevertheless said to have been buried at *The Choir of the Giants*, as Stonehenge is generally termed by our ancient writers. (4) The valiant

(1) The British historians make him kill in this battle 840 men with his own hand.

(2) He is said to have had an incestuous son by his daughter, concerning whose birth and that of Merlin, with other tales told by Nennius and Geoffry, Ranulphus Higden says, "Presenti historiæ addidissem, si ea veritate fulciri credidissem." Polychron, c. v.—With respect, however, to the famous Merlin, since every one has heard of his prophecies, we will extract from them, as matter of curiosity, a few passages, chiefly relating to our ancient city. "Væ Rubeo Draconi, (namely the Britons, whose ensign it was) nam exterminatio ejus festinat; cavernas ejus occupabit albus draco, qui Saxones, quos invitasti significat... Tres fontes in urbe Wintoniæ errumpent, quorum rivuli insulam in tres portiones secabunt. Qui bibet ex uno diuterniore vitâ fruetur nec superveniente languore gravabitur. Qui bibet de altero indeficiente peribet fame, & in facie ipsius pallor & horror sedebit. Qui bibet de tertio subitâ morte morietur, nec corpus illius poterit subire sepulchrum....Accede, Cambria, & junge lateri tuo Cornubiam & dic Wintoniæ, absorbebit te tellus. Invidebit ergo Londonia, & muros suos tripliciter augebit." Mat. West. ad. an. 465.

(3) Galfrid. Mat. West. Ranulph.

(4) Those very historians who, as Geoffry, Mat. West. Ranulphus, &c. ascribe the erection of this stupendous monument to Ambrosius, Uther Pendragon, and Merlin, in memory of the slaughter of their countrymen, which took place near it, confute their own account, in the name by which they call it, viz. *Chorea* sive *Chorus Gigantum:;* and point out its original purpose, which was that of a choir or orchestra for the Druids or Priests of the aboriginal inhabitants of this island, whom the same writers always call by the name of *Giants*. See Mat. West. æt. III.—Had Stonehenge been built at so late a period, and for the purpose mentioned above, most certainly there would have been some mark of Christianity found in it, and in the barrows with which it is surrounded; the skeletons also

Ambrose being dead, without leaving children, his brother Uther became heir to the crown, and accordingly hastened to this city, (1) which appears to have been his principal seat of government; where calling together the chief men of the kingdom, he was crowned with great pomp, (2) in the year of our Lord 498. On the same occasion, having seen certain meteors in the air, which to him appeared like two dragons' heads, he caused two gilt ensigns of that form to be made, one of which he placed in the cathedral church of this city, (3) the other he carried with him as his standard in war. (4) From this circumstance it is probable that he derived the name of Pendragon, or Dragon Head.—But it is now time to look back to the affairs of the Saxons.

It does not appear that after the election of Ambrosius, the Saxons of Kent, under Hengist, or his son Esca, ever advanced into the western parts of the kingdom. Whatever contests they maintained with the Britons, took place in the eastern and northern parts of the kingdom. Hence this city would have enjoyed a certain security, had not a new invasion of these enterprising barbarians taken place in 477, (5) at no great distance from it. The leaders of this expedition were Ella and his three sons, Cymenus, Pleting, and Cissa. (6) Ella's first efforts were directed to gain a firm

would have been found lying east and west, not north and south, as is the case here. This is generally a sufficient mark for distinguishing the graves of Christians from those of Pagans, at least in our northern countries.

(1) Mat. West. ad dict an. Galfrid. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. These facts relating to our city are inserted on the credit of the authors here cited, because there is neither any more certain history, nor any probability, against them. As to certain circumstances related in the History of Winchester, vol. II. p. 7, concerning Uther's invention of the round table here, the burning of his palace, and the presence of Joseph of Arimathea, there is not the shadow of any ancient authority whatever for them; and with respect to some others there mentioned, viz. Uther's driving Cerdic out of this city, and his marriage here with Ingern, these are directly contrary to all ancient records.

(5) Chron. Sax. Hen. Hunt. &c.

(6) The first mentioned of these three gave his name to the place of their landing, namely, Cymensore, on the peninsula of Selsea, in Sussex; the last to the city of Chichester, which was called before Regnum.

footing in the country in which he had landed, and to form a communication with the Saxons of Kent, who then formed a firm and compact kingdom under Esca, the son of Hengist. This was acting in a more sure and regular manner than pushing forward to Venta, which was the royal residence, and strongly fortified. He accordingly marched eastward, and finding the British city of Caer Andred to be the chief obstacle to his junction with the forces of Esca, he laid close siege to it, and having taken it, after an obstinate resistance, he rased it to the ground, and put to death every inhabitant it contained. (1) The whole south east coast of the island being now in the power of the Saxons, the warlike Ella appears next to have directed his arms northward; and, avoiding our city, which was still probably too strong for him to attempt, he first fell upon Vindonum, or Silchester, where he exhibited the same scenes of ruthless cruelty and destruction as at Andredcester; leaving nothing on the spot but the bare city walls, without a house standing in them, and the adjoining amphitheatre, to attest its former existence. (2) Marching forward in the same direction, he next laid siege to the important city of Bath, (3) where he met with

(1) Chron. Sax. Hen. Hunt. &c. "Omnes ore gladii devorati sunt cum mulieribus & parvulis, ita quod nec unus solus evasit. Et quia tot ibi damna toleravere extranei, ita urbem destruxerunt; quæ numquam postea reædificata est. Locus tantum quasi nobilissimæ urbis transeuntibus ostenditur desolatus." Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. II.—This city was termed by the Saxons Andredceaster, and was situated, according to Camden, at Newenden, on the river Rother, near the borders of Kent.

(2) Nearly in this condition it still remains, a singular and interesting sight to the musing antiquary. That it was destroyed by the fierce Ella, in his march to Bath, in 493, there is every reason to believe. We find it mentioned in the records of Roman transactions down to the time of Constantine, the father of the reigning British king, Ambrosius; who is said to have been invested with the purple there, as Gervasius relates. After this time it is never mentioned in the history of British and Saxon affairs, except by one or two authors, who, contrary to all probability, as we shall shew, say that Arthur was crowned there.

(3) The truth of this statement, by which the siege of Bath, and the other attempts of the Saxons in these countries at the time in question, are ascribed to Ella and the South Saxons, is thus proved. The siege of Bath happened in 493, as Bede, Gildas, and Ranulph expressly declare; now at that time the great Hengist had been dead two or three years, according to

that signal defeat from Ambrosius, (who had marched to its relief, assisted by young Arthur) which we have already mentioned, and of which Gildas and the other British historians speak with so much rapture.

It was this defeat which arrested for some time the fate of our city, and of the western cities in general. Ella was obliged to fall back into his kingdom of Sussex, and the Britons might soon, perhaps, have realized those complete conquests which their writers ascribe to them, and have succeeded in driving the Saxons entirely out of the island; had it not been for another descent of a fresh body of these people, which soon after took place in the west, at a convenient distance from the kingdom of Ella. The leader of this was Cerdic, a general illustrious for his descent from Woden, and for the martial achievements which he had performed in his own country. (1) Hearing, however, that a nobler scene was now open to his valour in Britain, he embarked for that island, with his son Cenric, and a choice army, amounting to about the number of 15,000 men, in five long galleys, called cyules. (2) Cerdic landed in

Hen. Hunt. Chron Sax. and Randulph; and his son, Esca, who succeded him, was contented with his paternal kingdom of Kent. "Eisc magis tuendo quam ampliando regno intentus, paternos limites nunquam excessit." Gul. Malm.—On the other hand, Ella, who died in 514, was by his military talents and exploits then the acknowledged head of the whole Saxon confederacy. "Ella rex Australium Saxonum, qui omnia jura regni Anglorum, reges scilicet & proceres & tribunos in ditione suâ tenebat." Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. II.

(1) Gul. Malm. De Gest. l. I. c. II.

(2) So called here by Gul. Malm. also by Gildas, &c.—It would exceed all belief that such large armies as must have arrived from Germany to achieve the conquest of Britain, could have been transported in so few vessels, if all our historians were not unanimous as to the fact. The first expedition under Hengist and Horsa, which conquered the Picts, sailed in three vessels only; each of which, according to Verstegan and his authorities, contained 3000 men. It is, however, to be considered, that these barbarians, being inured to hardships of every kind, could subsist for a long time on a very small quantity of food, and that they required no other stores whatever than their arms. Their predatory expeditions, in which a few men only were embarked in each ship, were carried on in vessels of a very different kind, viz. mere skiffs, or truckle boats made of wicker

the year 495, at a place which, from his name, was called Cerdicesora,(1) or Cerdic-shore,(2) where he found the Britons drawn up in battle to oppose him.(3) Having repulsed this army, he gradually extended his conquests; and, in six years time, had carried his victorious arms over a great part of the west.(4) In the course of these conquests, in the year 501, a fresh body of Saxons landed at Portsmouth, from two greater galleys

work, and covered with hides; their boldness in trusting to which, and their dexterity in managing them, were the admiration of the civilized world.

Quin et Aremoricus piratam Saxona tractus.
Sperabat; (timebat) *cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum*
Ludus, et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.
Sidonius Apollinarius.

N.B. The number of men here assigned for Cerdic's army, brought over in five gallies, is computed by that of Hengist's, which arrived in three gallies.

(1) Chron. Sax. Hen. Hunt. &c.—It is with regret we find ourselves obliged to oppose the sentiment of so illustrious a topographer as Camden; but this is unavoidable, when we find him placing this Cerdicshore on the coast of Norfolk. See Britannia, Yarmouth.—In opposition to this we must observe, that no ancient author whatever hints that Cerdic either embarked a second time to arrive at the western coast, or that he carried his victorious arms from the eastern to the western shore of the island. On the contrary, they agree that he took possession of the sea coast where he landed, and from thence gradually extended his territory. Hen. Hunt. Mat. West.—2dly, When Withgar and Stuffa brought reinforcements to their uncle Cerdic, the latter was certainly in the west, and Mat. West. expressly says, they landed "in the west part of Britain;" now the Saxon Chronicle and Huntingdon as positively affirm that they landed at Cerdicesora.—It will be asked, Where then is this celebrated post from which the kingdom of the West Saxons took its beginning? Gibson in Chron. Sax. mentions that some learned men have supposed it to be Calshot, quasi Caldshore, at the entrance of the Southampton river. More probably it was at Hengisbury-head, near Charford, or Cerdicesford, where a tradition of the inhabitants still testifies that a battle was fought between the Saxons and Britons, similar in its circumstances to that which took place at the landing of Cerdic. Perhaps, however, the opinion of Carte may be right, who thinks the place in question, is Charmouth, in Dorsetshire, a place afterwards famous for hostile invasions.

(2) Chron. Sax. Hen. Hunt. In 494 secundum Westm.

(3) Hen. Hunt. Gul. Malm.

(4) Chron. Sax.

than any that had yet been seen, (1) under the command of Port (2) and his two sons Bleda and Magla; who having defeated the Britons immediately opposed to them, and killed their general, took possession of the adjacent country, which Port afterwards held in vassalage of Cerdic. (3) Notwithstanding these repeated successes, by which the dominions of Uther were so much contracted, it was not until the year 508, when Cerdic, returning from the west, began to approach the capital city of Venta, that Uther exerted himself in his own defence. Then, however, he drew together a very large army, and resolved upon hazarding a general action. Cerdic, on his part, being sensible of his danger, procured reinforcements from king Esca in Kent, from king Ella in Sussex, and from Port at Portsmouth. (4) He marshalled his army in two divisions; one of which he commanded himself, the other he committed to his son Cenric. The British army formed one body, under the direction of Natanleod, whom some writers call the general of Uther, others describe as being Uther himself. (5) The battle was fought with great obstinacy on both sides. At first the Britons succeeded in turning the division which Cerdic commanded in person; but the other division under Cenric at that moment falling upon them in the rear, they were defeated with the loss of 5000 men, amongst whom was their general Natanleod. The scene of this important action was in the New Forest, all which district was, during several succeeding ages, called after the name of the monarch who was

(1) "Venerunt cum duabus navibus maximis." Hen. Hunt.

(2) Hen. Hunt. Mat. West. &c. maintain that Portsmouth derives its name from this Saxon general Port. Camden rejects this derivation, but his arguments on this subject are far from being conclusive.

(3) Rudborne. (4) Hen. Hunt.

(5) The Saxon Chronicle terms him "Rex;" Hen. Hunt. "Maximus Regum." Hence Usher and other moderns suppose all that is said concerning Uther's sickness, and his sending his general Natanleod in his place, to be a fiction of the British writers, who were unwilling to allow that their king himself was killed in battle by the Saxons; on the contrary, they suppose that Natanleod, or rather Natan, was the real name of the successor of Ambrosius, and that of Uther (terrible) to be only a cognomen.

slain, and had probably been encamped there a long time before, (1) as the ford on the river Avon, where the battle was fought, derived its name from the conquering general. (2)

It is probable that the auxiliary troops were withdrawn after this battle, and that Cerdic was under the necessity of sending to Germany for a military reinforcement, before he undertook the siege of the royal city of Venta. Certain it is, that in the year 514, a reinforcement arrived to his assistance, under the conduct of his nephews Withgar and Stuffa, in three galleys, (3) which landed at the above-mentioned port of Cerdicshore; and, after some ineffectual opposition on the part of the Britons, effected a junction with him. The British writers, (4) who boast of some splendid victories gained by Uther (whom they maintain to have been still alive, though very infirm, and even to have commanded his army from a litter) (5)

(1) The Saxon Chronicle says, " Cerdic and Cenric interfecerunt Natanleod, a quo tempore regio ea nuncupatata est Natan-leag usque ad Cerdicesford." Idem. fere Hen. Hunt. &c.—Now leag means uncultivated land, (Verstegan) and only describes the nature of the country; the whole question then amongst antiquaries and topographers is, what country continued to be called, during the course of many centuries, after the name of the aforesaid British general, *Natan ?*—Camden says that he has " sought but cannot find any footsteps of that name." Gibson, in his Additions to Camden, fancies he has found these traces in *Netley* or *Nutley*. Carte spends several of his folio pages to prove the same of *Tanley*, all of which are mere villages, and at a great distance from the place of Natan's death.—To clear up this doubtful and contested point we are to observe,—1st, That the place in question was a large district, " Regio," and that the same was uncultivated.—2dly, That the district of the New Forest, in the pronunciation of its ancient Saxon name, Ytene, bears a great affinity with *Natan*, pronounced *Nætæn*. " Nova Foresta, quæ lingua Anglorum Ytene nuncupatur." Simeon Dunelm. and Joan. Brumpton ad. an. 1100.—3dly, That the New Forest does in fact reach up to Charford, on the Avon, as we are informed the district did which we are in search of.

(2) Certicesford, Hen. Hunt. Chron. Sax. &c. Charford, Camden.—It seems uncertain whether this place received its name from this first victory of Cerdic, or from a second, which Henry of Huntingdon expressly says he gained here over the same enemy, in the seventh year of his reign, namely, in the year 526.

(3) Chron. Sax. Ranulph, &c. (4) Galfrid. Mat. West. ad. an. 512, &c.

(5) Mat. West. ad. an. 512.

nevertheless agree with our Saxon historians (1) that after this junction with his nephews, Cerdic became exceedingly formidable, marching wherever he pleased without opposition. (2) This then was the period, namely, in 515 or 516, that our city underwent the most terrible revolution which it has ever yet experienced, by falling into the hands of this fierce Pagan conqueror. In fact, we find him in the latter of these years completing his devastations and sacrileges in it. (2)

To form a proper idea of what has just been said, we are to observe, that the wars of our fierce ancestors were not so much wars of conquest as of destruction and extermination. Unacquainted, on one hand, with the arts and conveniences of civilized life, wherever they conquered, they burnt or destroyed the temples or churches, the baths, the porticos, and other magnificent buildings, whether public or private, together with the tesselated pavements, statues, pictures, and elegant furniture, which the Romans, as we have remarked, (4) introduced amongst the civilized Britons. Equally insensible, on the other hand, to the feelings of compassion, it was their general custom to put to death, not only the enemies who bore arms against them, but also their very women and children, when they fell into their hands. The impartial Gildas, not more severe with respect to the crimes of his enemies than of his countrymen, draws a frightful picture of city walls and gates beaten down with battering rams; of streets blocked up with the ruins of fallen buildings, or rendered impassable by numberless fires enkindled to destroy the edifices; of mangled carcasses strewed along the highways, and left to be devoured by birds and beasts; and of sacred altars besmeared with blood, and covered with pieces of human flesh, amidst the glittering weapons of the exulting victors: (5) all which horrors, he tells us, every where followed the conquests of our unenlightened and unfeeling ancestors. This author, with whose statements those of Bede, and of our other ancient authors in general agree, (6) as to the substance of the

(1) Hen. Hunt. Chron. Sax. Gul. Malm. (2) Galfrid. Mat. West.
(3) Rudborne, Hist. Maj. l. II, c. I. (4) Supra, p. 25. (5) Gildas, Hist. c. XXIV.
(6) Bede, Hist. Eccl. l. I, c. XV. Mat. West. ad. an. 511.

history, admits indeed that a few of the Britons were spared, upon condition of their remaining perpetual slaves to the Saxons; but he assures us that this was considered as a very high favour. (1) It is true we have not the detail of the conquest of our city, any further than that the monks who served the cathedral were all murdered, and that the church itself was profaned and turned into a Heathen temple; (2) but we have no reason to suppose that it was treated more favourably than the other cities that were taken by the Saxons. On a prior occasion, (3) it had been given up to them by treaty, and therefore met with a degree of favour; but now, having been reduced by force, it felt the whole weight of their merciless fury.

After this great revolution, little remained of the former city except the situation, a great part of the walls, and some of the houses, adequate to the small number of the victorious people that could be spared to replace the former inhabitants. These were chiefly of the nation called Jutes, (4) who had come over with Stuffa and Withgar in the last men-

(1) Gildas, Hist. c. xxv.

(2) Rudborne, Hist. Maj. l. ii. c. i. He says, that it was turned into a temple of Dagon, by which deity we are to understand Thor, the chief God of the Saxons.

(3) After the massacre at Stonehenge (see p. 60.)

(4) All our historians agree in distinguishing the present invaders of this island into three tribes, the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes. The Saxons, according to Ethelward's description, came from between the Rhine and the Elbe; the Angles from between the Elbe and the Baltic; and the Jutes, whom he calls Giotti, and Bede Vitæ, from the peninsula of Jutland. These historians equally agree that the last mentioned tribe, besides peopling the county of Kent and the isle of Wight, formed a distinct nation or tribe on the coast directly opposite to that island; that is to say, on the coast of Hampshire. "De Vitarum origine sunt Cantuarii & Vectuarii; hoc est, gens, quæ usque hodie in provincia occidentalium Saxonum, Vitarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam." Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. i, c. xv.—Now what people of any such name was ever found in this country except the Vitti, or Gevissi, (*Ge* being a mere expletive, as Verstegan proves, p. 172) mentioned by Bede, l. iii, c. vii, and Rudborne, l. ii, c. i? On the other hand, it is plain from both these authors, and from Mat. West. ad. an. 44, that our city formed part of the territory, and was even the capital of the Gevissi. Hence it is clear that this city was peopled, as stated above, by the Jutes. Hence also we are enabled to confute the

tioned expedition; and of others, of each sex, who were probably sent for from Jutland, to take possession of this important place. Its magnificent cathedral indeed remained, but instead of being employed in the worship of the true God, to whom it had been erected, it was now made subservient to the gloomy and impure rites of Thor, Woden, Frea, and Tuisco. (1) Its arts and splendor, its commerce and manufactures, were no more. The loss of these, however, was not felt by barbarians, who studied no other art but that of war, and who knew no other pleasures than those of the sensual appetite. Amongst other changes which now took place with respect to it, was that of its name: it was no longer called *Caer Gwent*, or *Venta Belgarum*, but Wintanceaster, Wintanceaster, (2) now contracted into Winchester, the name which it

fabulous etymology of this name, given by Rudborne and others, who derive it from the pretended daughter of the emperor Claudius, called Gevissa, whom Arviragus is supposed to have married.—But though these invaders formed three different tribes, yet there is every reason to suppose, from the identity of their language, manners, and religion, and still more from the circumstance of their respective leaders claiming a common descent from Woden, that they were all originally the same people, being a horde of the Getæ or Goths, who had been conducted by Woden (the Odin of the Runnic Bards) from the Palus Mæotis to the shores of the Baltic and the German Ocean. This must have happened about the time of our Saviour Christ; as Cerdic is stated by Malmsbury to be the tenth in descent from Woden. According to this account, which agrees with that of the northern writers in general, it appears that the Jutes, having retained their original name of Getæ, were the chief and most respectable of the three kindred tribes. It is probable also, from their having penetrated further north than the others, that they were the most valiant; and that they were the most handsome, is generally allowed by those who have seen their descendants in the Isle of Wight, where they have remained ever since, in a great measure undisturbed and unmixed.

(1) Deities of the Jutes and Saxons, from whom four days of the week in our language derive their names.

(2) Bede writes it rather differently, "In civitate Venta, quæ a gente Saxonum Wintancestir appellatur." Ecc. Hist. l. III, c. VIII.—We find it also written by ancient authors Wintercester, Wincestre, and Wincester, (see Gibson ad Calcem Chron. Sax. p. 50) but never Wittanceaster, as the anonymous author of the History of Winchester, vol. I. p. I., and vol. II. p. 9, erroneously writes it, both as to the orthography and the form of the first letter.

has ever since borne, and which is expressive of its former importance as a Roman station.

Still Winchester, under all its disadvantages, was the chief city of the most powerful king in the island. Accordingly, having resolved in the most public and solemn manner to declare himself monarch of the western kingdom, Cerdic assembled the chief of his subjects in this city, and caused himself to be crowned, in the new temple of Thor, late the cathedral church, (1) with the usual ceremonies of his nation. (2) This important transaction took place in the year 519, (3) from which year all our ancient historians (4) date the beginning of the West Saxon kingdom; a kingdom which, even at its first beginning, was paramount to the other Saxon states, and which, in the end, was destined to swallow up the whole heptarchy.

Cerdic being firmly seated in his West Saxon kingdom, went on enlarging it, (5) not however without frequent combats. One battle, in the year 520, (6) is particularly noticed by the British historians, in which Colgrin, Cheldric, and Baldulf, Saxon chiefs, who appear to have been the allies, if not the generals of Cerdic, were defeated at Bannesdown, near Bath, by the same renowned Arthur, who already, twenty-seven years before, when serving under his uncle Ambrosius, had forced the Saxons to raise the siege of the said city. In return, Cerdic, with his son Cenric, engaging the Britons on the same spot in the New Forest where they had defeated Natanleod, (7) gained a second victory. In the end, Arthur being

(1) Rudborne, Hist. Maj. l. II, c. 1.

(2) "More gentili." Rudb. ibid. item Ranulph Higd. ad. an. 544.—The custom of the Saxons in crowning their kings was probably the same with that of their former neighbours the Franks, who caused their sovereign to stand upon a shield, and to be thus carried about upon men's shoulders.

(3) Ibid. (4) "Regnum Westsexe incipit an. 519." Hen. Hunt. Chron. Sax. Chron. Joan. Wallingford, &c.

(5) "Fortitudo Certici terribilis facta est et pertransiit terram in fortitudine gravi." Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. I. (6) Mat. West. ad dict an.. Nennius, &c. Henry of Huntingdon.

(7) Chron. Sax. ad dict. an. "Anno nono regni ejus pugnaverunt iterum contra Britannos apud Certicesford." Hen. Hunt.

unable to sustain the war any longer in this part against so powerful an enemy, entered into a treaty of peace with him, making a formal surrender of the counties, which appear to have been already, in a great measure, in his possession, namely, Hampshire, Surry, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire. (1) Our historian adds, that Mordred being desirous of strengthening his party against Arthur, whom in his absence he had supplanted both in the possession of his kingdom, and in the affections of his wife, transferred to Cerdic his right to the three remaining western counties of Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall; (2) throughout all which extensive domain Cerdic either killed or banished the Christian Britons, except in Cornwall, where he left to the inhabitants the enjoyment of their government and religion, under the condition of an annual tribute. (3) The place of the Britons whom death or exile had removed, was supplied by Saxons, who still continued to flock from Germany.

Having perused our account of this memorable period, it will be asked by many an admirer of the antiquities of Winchester, "What then becomes of the boasted feats of the renowned Arthur, which are said to have taken place in this ancient city, and have hitherto been considered as its chief glory? Of the castle which he built? (4) Of the Round Table which he erected, and which is still pointed at there? (5) Of four-and-twenty knights installed; with their splendid tilts and tournaments held there? (6) Of his institution of parliaments, and of oaths of allegiance? (6) Lastly, of the dreadful battle fought between Arthur and his nephew Mordred, on the adjoining downs, called Magdalen-hill, and of the final triumph of this first Christian worthy?" (8)

To these questions the historian, who is mindful of his first duty,

(1) "Pertæsus Arthurus cum Cerdico deinceps prælia inire, fœdus cum illo pepegit datis sibi Hampshiria, Suthreia, Wyltshira, Somersetonia." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. II, c. I. Ran. Higd. ad an. 544. (2) Rudb. ibid. (3) Ibid.

(4) Rev. Tho. Warton's Description. Hist. of Winchester, vol. II, p. 7. Trussel, MSS.

(5) Iidem. Drayton, Harding, &c. (6) Iidem.

(7) Hist. of Winchester, vol. II, p. 8. Trussel. (8) Iidem. Lambard, cited by Trussel.

the duty which he owes to truth, (1) will be forced to answer, that the erection of the castle of Winchester, the invention of the round table, with the other ceremonies of chivalry, as also the institution of parliaments, are of a later date, by many centuries, than the age of Arthur; and that the exploits of this valiant hero and true patriot, which, according to an ancient and judicious Saxon writer, were worthy to be recorded in the faithful page of history, (2) have been degraded by absurd and romantic fables, originating in national and local prejudices on one side, and in ignorance and carelessness, in confounding dates and places, on the other. Let us try if it be not possible to disperse the mists which hang over this most obscure part of our history; and by suppressing the romantic exaggerations of our British bards, (3) to make the substance of their history agree with the sober relation of our judicious and impartial Saxon writers. It is not less the duty of the faithful historian to divest his subject of the false honours which it wears, than it is to adorn it with those which actually belong to it.

Uther Pendragon is stated to have died at St. Alban's, about the time that Cerdic became master of Winchester, (4) namely, in the year

(1) "Ne quid falsi dicere audeat." Cic.

(2) "Hic est Arthurus de quo nugæ Britonum delirant: dignus plane quem non fallaces fabulæ, sed veraces historiæ prædicarent." Gul. Malm. De Gestis Reg. Angl. l. 1.

(3) The history of Geoffry of Monmouth was chiefly collected from the songs of the bards, by Walter of Oxford, who wrote it in the British language. Being understood by very few in this language, Geoffry translated it into Latin, on which it occasioned a violent outcry amongst the learned, as may be gathered from Malmsbury, Higden, Rudborne, and even Giraldus, de Illaudab Walliæ, c. 11, chiefly on account of the extravagant things related of king Arthur; and the translator himself was surnamed, in derision, Geoffry ap Arthur. Other ancient writers, as Mat. West. Diceto, &c. adopted this history in a great measure, but so as to qualify and change many circumstances related in it.

(4) The concurring authority of all ancient writers, whether British or Saxon, who relate the history of this time, in distinguishing between Uther and Natanleod, must outweigh the conjecture of Usher, who supposes them to be the same person; a conjecture which is built upon the single circumstance of the latter being called a king, which word we often find used in the British history to denote a general in chief.

516, not without the suspicion of having been poisoned by the Saxons. (1) On this occasion, the celebrated St. Dubritius, bishop of Caerleon, and predecessor, in the metropolitical dignity, to the great St. David, being anxious to procure a prop to his falling country, (2) called a meeting of the British grandees and prelates, in a place the most safe from the incursions of the Saxons, namely, at Caer Seiont, near the modern town of Carnarvan, (3) where Arthur, who had already given such pregnant proofs of his military talents, was chosen king, (4) notwithstanding the illegitimacy of his birth, in preference to Mordred and Galwan, (5) the children of his legitimate sister Anne, by Lothus, a Scottish chieftain. His conduct justified the expectations that were formed of him. For several years, he

(1) The circumstances of this alleged treachery prove that the report of it originated in the envy and malice of the Britons. They pretend that their enemies sent emissaries to infuse poison into the famous fountain of St. Alban, in the city of that name, out of which Uther was accustomed to drink. Mat. West. ad. an. 516.

(2) Vita S. Dubritii apud Capgrave. Joan. Fordun. Scot. Hist. l. II, c. XXV.

(3) Here occurs one of those errors which was occasioned by ignorance or inattention in distinguishing between places of the same name. Geoffry of Monmouth and Benedict of Gloucester say, that a general meeting of the Britons was held at Silchester, in which Arthur was elected king. Now it is very improbable that such a congress could have taken place so near to the capital city of Cerdic, (had Silchester been then in existence, which it was not) at a time when, according to Mat. West. himself, Cerdic carried his victorious arms wherever he pleased. But, as we have observed, Geoffry's history was collected from records in the British tongue, and in this tongue there were two cities of the name of *Caer Seiont*, one near the modern town of Carnarvan, the other on the borders of Hampshire. In consequence of this identity of names, they both laid claim to have the sepulchre of Constantius within their respective walls. See Camden's Britannia, Hampshire and Carnarvanshire.—Now that meeting of the Britons in 516, which could not have taken place in the south of England, was very likely to have taken place in the north of Wales.

(4) Mat. West. makes Arthur to be only fifteen years old at the time of his election, at which age it is difficult to conceive that he could have already proved himself possessed of the talents necessary to govern a kingdom, or have commanded the armies in chief of different British kings, as Nennius tells us he had done, Hist. c. LXII.—It is possible, however, that he was of this age when he signalized himself at the first battle of Bath.

(5) Joan. Fordun. Scot. Hist. l. III, c. XXIV.

upheld his country from sinking, (1) and routed different bodies of the Saxons, both to the north and the south of Wales, which was his peculiar domain, as being now almost the only part of South Britain which they had not overrun. Twelve of his victories are peculiarly celebrated; (2) the last of which was his forcing the Saxons, for the second time, to raise the siege of Bath. (3) In achieving these conquests, he was assisted not only by his own forces, but also by auxiliary troops, which he procured from his allies, both within and without the island, particularly from Hoel, the king of Brittany. (4) We have proofs, which have been stated above, that, after many severe battles, Arthur made peace with Cerdic, the most powerful of the Saxon kings; and it is probable that he also entered into treaties with the other princes of the same nation, upon honourable terms. This then was the period of those magnificent solemnities and feats of arms, which we read of his celebrating, (5) particularly of one of these at Pentecost, in which he was solemnly crowned, (6) four of his vassal princes carrying swords of gold before him. (7) These solemnities, in after times, agreeably to the customs then prevailing, were described to be tilts and tourna-

(1) " Quippe qui labantem patriam sustinuerit, infractos civium animos ad bellum acuerit." Gul. Malm. De Gest. Reg.

(2) Nennius. Hen. Hunt. Ranulph, &c.

(3) We have proved from Gildas that the first battle of Badon was at the city itself of Bath, and not at a certain Mons Badonicus on the borders of Berkshire, as Carte pretends. It is equally clear from Benedict of Gloucester, that the second battle was at the same city. " Urbem Badonis obsidione vallant." In Vita S. Dubritii.—This second defeat of the Saxons at Bath is the more probable, as without some such event it is difficult to conceive that it should not have fallen into the hands of Cerdic, with the rest of the county of Somerset. Now we are assured that this city was not reduced under the power of the West Saxons until the reign of Ceaulin.

(4) Mat. West. Ben. Claud. Galfrid.

(5) " Tunc invitatis quibusque magnificis ex regnis longe positis, tantam in domo sua cæpit habere facetiam, ut in induendo, sive in arma ferendo, loquendo & se gerendo longe manentes populos ad æmulationem sui provocaret." Mat. West. an. 523.

(6) Benedict. Claud. In Vit. Dubrit. Angl. Sac. vol. II, p. 659.

(7) Ibid.

ments. (1) The actual scene of these and the place where Arthur usually kept his court, was either Caer Gwent itself, namely, the Caer Gwent of Monmouthshire, Venta Silurum, (2) or the adjoining city of Caerleon in Wentsend; that is to say, the territory of Venta, as the whole country thereabout was called. (3) The former of these cities in process of time being quite destroyed, and the latter reduced to a mere village, the splendid scenes, with which Arthur had ennobled them, were, through ignorance or flattery, transferred to our Caer Gwent, at a time when it was one of the most important cities in the island. (4) The same season of peace allowed Arthur the necessary leisure for making a pilgrimage of devotion to the Holy Land. (5) This journey afforded sufficient materials for the bards, whom Geoffry copies, to work up into the most extensive conquests; they accordingly represent their hero as subduing all the countries through which he passed. During his absence he committed the regency of his kingdom to his nephew Mordred; who, considering the crown as his due, in right of his mother, took measures to secure it to himself, as well as the affections of his aunt, queen Guenhumara, the most important of which was to strengthen himself by making a treaty with our king Cer-

(1) Harding, Drayton, Trussel, &c.

(2) Antoninus, Itiner. Camden, Britan. Monmouthshire.

(3) Ibid. "Beatus igiter Dubritius, quoniam in sua diocesi curia (Arthuri) tenebatur," &c. St. Dubritius was bishop of Caerleon, in which diocese, at the distance of eight or ten miles, the Caer Gwent in question was seated. Giraldus Cambrensis describes Arthur as keeping his court and receiving foreign ambassadors at Caerleon itself. See Camden's Monmouthshire.

(4) Whenever the name Caer Gwent occurred in the British songs or records, it was of course written in Latin, *Venta* or *Wintonia*, by Geoffry, Mat. of Westminster, &c. which appellations, at the time we are speaking of, were exclusively applied to our city. An opinion having thus prevailed that king Arthur had kept his court here, the ancient castle was also assigned for his place of residence; which, in the next place, it was asserted he had built. Of course he was said to have set up the round table which was found there. See John Stow, Annals, &c.

(5) Nennius, who boasts of Arthur's victories at home, but seems not to have heard of any conquests abroad, nevertheless speaks of his pilgrimage: "Nam Arthurus Jerosolimam perrexit & crucem ad quantitatem salutiferæ crucis fecit." Hist. Brit. c. LXIII.

dic. (1) These particulars coming to the knowledge of Arthur, he hastens home, and endeavours, in the first place, to gain possession of his capital, and of his queen; who dreading the effects of his displeasure, takes refuge, and puts on the religious veil in the famous abbey of St. Julius, at Caerleon. (2) He therefore hastens to the aforesaid Caer Gwent, (3) which is ignorantly supposed to be our city; (4) a battle ensues before it, (5) which is therefore stated to have happened on Magdalen-hill. (6) In a word, Arthur is victorious, but is soon after grievously wounded in a second battle, in which Mordred loses his life. (7) Finding his end approaching, Arthur gives up his kingdom to his relation Constantine, and retires with the utmost secrecy to prepare himself for death, amongst the solitaries of Glassenbury, (8) who appear, by some means or other, to have met with protection or connivance in the worst of times. (9) Here he dies in so much obscurity, that his credulous countrymen will hardly admit the fact itself of his being dead, (10) until his tomb is discovered in the reign of Henry II. (11)

(1) Mat. West. Higden, Rudborne, &c.

(2) Mat. West. ad. an. 541. That there was a nunnery dedicated to St. Julius, the British martyr, in the city of Caerleon, is attested by Benedict, Ang. Sac. vol. II, p. 659, also by Giraldus, quoted by Camden, Monmouthshire.—Now it was an easy matter for the queen to fly from the Gwent or Vintonia of Monmouthshire to Caerleon, but a very difficult one to get thither from our city, especially in the situation of affairs in which this is said to have happened.

(3) "Arthurus furibundus Wintoniam properans, Mordredum infra eandem obsedit." Ibid.

(4) Trussel's MSS. Hist. of Winchester, vol. II. p. 9.

(5) Mat. West. (6) Trussel's MSS. Hist. of Winchester, &c.

(7) Annales Menevenses. Mat. West. Rad. Higd.

(8) Annales Menevenses. Mat. West. Antiq. Glassen.

(9) Antiq. Glassen. Cressy, Ch. Hist.

(10) "Quia Britannica historia de ejus (Arthuri) morte nil certum tradidit, Britones adhuc eum vivere delirant." Rad. Diceto De Reg. Brit.

(11) Idem. Girald. Cambren. Higden. Camden.—The writers of the History of Winchester, more romantic than Geoffry himself, but less excusable, because they propagate the most revolting falsehoods without the shadow of authority, make Cerdic first gain possession of this city, they then cause him to be driven out of it by Pendragon, and lastly they tell us he killed Arthur in battle, and thus became master of it a second time. Vol. II, p. 6, 9.

It is necessary to clear up one more mistake of certain ancient as well as modern writers, (1) which has served to perplex the history of this city with improbability and fable. We learn from an historian, who for his impartiality, as well as his antiquity and means of information, is above all exception, (2) that Constantine, now king of the Britons, contrary to an oath which he had given for their protection, killed two royal youths, who must have been the sons of Mordred, at the altar of a certain church, to which they had fled for the benefit of sanctuary; and under the very amphiballus or surplice of a holy abbot, which he extended over them. (3) The ambiguity of the word *Amphiballus*, (4) which signifies a large mantle, such as the monks surplices were, and which also was the name of the saint to whom our cathedral had been dedicated, has given occasion to these writers to represent this tragedy as taking place in our cathedral; at a time when Constantine could not have dared to come within fifty miles of the city, and when the church of St. Amphiballus, with its abbot and its monks, no longer existed, but a temple of Dagon was set up in its place. (5)

Thus in endeavouring to disengage the antiquities of our city from the fables, with which they have been hitherto disfigured, we have, at the same

(1) Mat. West. John Stow, Annals. Trussel. Hist. of Winchester.

(2) Gildas.

(3) " Post horrible juramenti sacramentum, quo se devinxit (Constantinus) nequaquam dolos civibus facturum, in duarum venerandis matrum sinibus, ecclesiæ, carnalisque, sub Sancti Abbatis amphiballo, latera regiorum tenerrima puerorum....laceravit." Epistola Gildæ. Increpatio in Constan.

(4) Amphiballus, a cloak which encompasses the body on both sides, and is not barely thrown over one shoulder like the toga. Such were the sheep skins which the monks or hermits originally wore for their outside dress, when they met at their devotions, and which therefore obtained the name of *superpeliceum*. It has been thought by some critics, but without sufficient grounds, that Amphiballus was not the real name of the priest who converted St. Alban, and who being martyred soon after him, became the ancient patron saint of our church. Certain it is that some martyrs, whose names were unknown, have been inserted in the calendar by a name drawn from some adventitious circumstance, as for example St. Adauctus. See Martyrolog. Rom. (5) See p. 71.

time, disentangled one of the most perplexed periods of our national history, and reconciled, in a certain degree, the British with the Saxon historians. The existence and the feats of Arthur, to the extent and in the places which have been here assigned to them, are reconciled with probability; but it is proved that these have no immediate relation with our city.

In the mean time Cerdic continued to sway the sceptre of the West Saxon kingdom, and to exercise, from his capital of Winchester, a kind of limited authority over the other princes of his nation. Having now no enemies to contend with in the main island, he passed over, with his son Kenric, and an immense army, (1) into the Isle of Wight, where he slaughtered to a man the wretched inhabitants, (2) who were assembled together at Carcsbrook, in their own defence; and supplied their place with a colony of Jutes, (3) over whom he placed his nephews Withgar and Stuffa. (4) This took place in the year 530; (5) four years after which this mighty conqueror and founder of a new kingdom departed this life, and was buried at his capital city in the cathedral church, or rather in the temple of Thor, which it was now become. (6) This distinction was paid him, probably by way of apotheosis, or deifying him; for the custom of the Saxons universally, as long as they continued Pagans, was to inter their dead in barrows. (7)

Kenric, who succeeded, was not inferior to his father in valour, (8) as he had proved on many occasions, when he fought along with him, side by

(1) Hen. Hunt.

(2) Mat. West. ad. an. 849.—" Innumerabilem stragem hostium fecit apud Mitgarcsburg." Chron. Sax. So called because Withgar was afterwards buried there. Hen. Hunt. Rudb.

(3) Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. i, c. xv. (4) Chron. Sax. Hen. Hunt. (5) Chron. Sax.

(6) " Obiit (Cerdicus) & Wyntoniæ in templo Dagon, more Paganorum sepultus est." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. ii, c. i.

(7) From the Teutonic Kirighe, to hide. Hence to *bury* and to *burrow*, as rabbits do, also *burg* and *bury* in the final syllable of the names of towns, as in Canterbury, Gainsborough, to signify places with works raised for hiding or protecting the inhabitants from the enemy. See Verstegan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, p. 165.

(8) Wil. Malm. De Gest. l. i, c. ii.

side. Hence the Britons, having assembled a large army (1) from their provinces to the north of this kingdom, in order, if possible, to crush it in its infancy; and having advanced within one day's march of his capital, namely, to Salisbury; (2) he there met with an enemy collected in haste, and charging them with his usual vigour, routed them with great slaughter. (3) This happened in the year 552. The Britons being provoked rather than discouraged by this defeat, employed four years in taking their measures to revenge it. For this purpose they assembled together the stoutest and bravest men, whom their nation afforded, and furnished them with arms in the completest manner. (4) This being done, they marshalled their army in nine divisions, with proper officers to command each of them. Of these bodies three composed the van, three the centre, and the remaining three the rear; this being the most excellent order of battle then known. (5) Their archers likewise and dartmen, together with their cavalry, they disposed according to the tactics which they had derived by tradition from the Romans. (6) The Saxons were unacquainted with this artificial mode of fighting, and rushed upon their enemies in one compact body, breaking through the ranks of their spears, and attacking them, hand to hand, with their heavy swords, (7) which they wielded with irresistible might. Still, however, the combat remained doubtful, until night put an end to it; (8) which the accurate historian, who relates these circumstances, mentions as a proof of the superior strength and courage, which men, in the sixth century, possessed over men in the twelfth, when he wrote. The place of this terrible combat was Banbury, (9) in Oxfordshire, which proves how much Kenric had extended his dominions; the date of it 556, at which time Aurelius Conanus was king of the Britons, to whom, therefore, the merit of this brave effort in favour of his country is to be ascribed.

(1) Hen. Hunt. (2) Scarobyrig. Chron. Sax.
(3) Hen. Hunt. (4) Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. II.
(5) Idem. (6) Idem. (7) Idem. (8) Idem. Chron. Sax.
(9) Beranbyrig.

Kenric dying in 560, was succeeded by his son Ceaulin; who even surpassed his father and grandfather in warlike talents, and in the extent and variety of his conquests.(1) His first essay of this kind was directed, not against the common enemy, but against a rival prince of his own nation, the famous Ethelbert of Kent, the same who afterwards became a Christian. The victory which Ceaulin gained over him in 568, at Wimbledon,(2) in Surry, acquired, in his favour, a paramount authority amongst the Saxon kings;(3) and of course entitled our city to be again considered as a sort of metropolis of Britain.(4) After this, assisted by his brother Cutha and his son Cuthwin, he routed the Britons, on one side at Bedford, reducing many considerable places in that direction, as Aylesbury, Bensington, and Eynsham; and on the other, in two different battles in Gloucestershire, which gained him the important cities of Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester, cities which had hitherto been free from the West Saxon yoke.(5)

(1) "Hujus (Ceaulini) spectatissimum in prœliis robur annales ad invidiam efferunt; quippe qui fuit Anglis stupori, Britonibus odio, utrisque exitio." Wil. Malm. De Gest. l. 1, c. 11.

(2) Wibbandune. Chron. Sax.

(3) The archdeacon of Huntingdon makes Ceaulin the second in the list of Saxon monarchs who enjoyed a paramount authority over the other kings, and the whole southern part of the island, as far as the Humber; reckoning Ella of the South Saxons to be the first, and Ethelbert of Kent to be the third monarch of this kind.

(4) To prevent the possibility of a doubt concerning the capital of the West Saxon kingdom at this precise period, as well as concerning the extent of this kingdom, it may be proper to insert the following extracts from Matthew of Westminster;—"Anno 585 regnum Merciorum initium sumpsit. Inchoata sunt ergo hoc tempore omnia Anglorum sive Saxonum regna, quæ octo numerantur. Regnum West Saxonum sive Occidentalium Saxonum cujus caput est Civitas Wentana, quæ modo Wintonia dicitur, &c."—"Reges West Saxonum dominabantur in provinciis Bercensi, Dorsetensi, Suthreiensi, Wiltonensi, Saresberiensi, & Bathonensi." Idem. ad. an. 586.

(5) Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm.—It was the first of these battles, that of Deorham or Derham, a village on the borders of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, which forced the Britons to give up the whole country to the east of the Wye, and to confine themselves to the mountains of Wales, yet so as still to make many powerful irruptions into England. Malm. Higden

The death of the pacific Cissa, king of the South Saxons, at an advanced age, in 590, who, unlike his father Ella, is better known for founding cities than for destroying them; (1) furnished Ceaulin with a fresh object for his ambition. He refused to permit Edilwach to succeed to his father's kingdom, but added it to his own. (2) This, however, was the destined term of his greatness: for having in the following year marched to repel an invasion of those Britons, whom he so much despised, and had so often subdued, he suffered a total defeat from them; (3) and his brave West Saxons, unaccustomed to fly, (4) were almost all killed on the field of battle. This important event took place near that remarkable trench, called Wodensdyke, which seems to have been the boundary of his kingdom to the north. (5) His defeat is ascribed by one historian to the Roman tactics, which the Britons observed, and to the want of discipline amongst the Saxons; (6) but much more probably, by another, to the treachery of Ceaulin's own subjects, who, disgusted at his tyranny,

Mat. West.—The British bards, in order to account for this terrible defeat, in which three of their princes were slain, say that the Saxons were assisted by a pretended African king Gormund, at the head of 566,000 men. Galfrid. Ranulph. Dicetus.

(1) He either preserved or rebuilt the ancient regnum, which was called after him Chichester. His name is also preserved in Cissbury.

(2) Mat. West.

(3) Chron. Sax. Ethelwerd.

(4) "Saxones quanto in bellis præstantiores esse solebant tanto in fuga segniores effecti, valde contriti sunt. Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. II.

(5) Camden thinks that this trench was the line of separation between the West Saxon and the Mercian kingdoms. But as the latter, which had but just received a beginning, did not already extend so far as this trench; and as the historians speak of the dyke as actually existing at the time of the battle; it is much more likely to have been the boundary of the British and the West Saxon territories, when Arthur and Cerdic entered into a treaty. The name of Woden, which it still retains, proves that it had some particular relation to the Saxon people.

(6) "Cum Britones, more Romanorum, acies distinctè admoverent, Saxones vero audacter & confuse irruerent, maximum prælium factum est, concessitque Deus victoriam Britannis." Hen. Hunt.

had entered into a conspiracy with the Britons. (1) What confirms this opinion is, that though the conquered monarch survived this defeat, he was not permitted to keep possession of his crown; but his nephew Ceolric, a man of a more peaceable turn of mind, was elected to replace him. (2) The latter dying in 597, was succeeded by his cousin Ceolwulph, a prince of Ceaulin's character, (3) whose whole reign was one continued warfare, against the Britons, the neighbouring princes, or against the Scots and Picts, (4) who appear to have made a formidable irruption into South Britain in his time. Leaving no issue, the succession devolved, in 612, upon his nephew Kinegils, of whom we shall soon have matters of importance to relate. In the fourth year of his reign he associated his son (5) Quilchelm with him, in his kingdom. Soon after this he gained an easy victory over an army of Britons, on the western frontier of his dominions; (6) they being seized with the panic at the sight of the large glittering battle axes and swords of their enemies, (7) who appear to have been marshalled in better order than they had formerly been. (8) Of a far more serious nature were those battles which Kinegils and his son were obliged to maintain against three different armies of their own countrymen, which successively invaded them. The first of these consisted of Northumbrians, under the command of king Edwin, whom Quilchelm had basely endeavoured to murder, by means of a hired assassin. (9) In this war our West Saxon Princes were worsted, and forced

(1) " Quia in odium sui quasi classicum utrobique cecinerat, conspirantibus tam Anglis quam Britonibus, apud Wodensdyk, cæso exercitu, anno 31 regni, nudatus, in exilium concessit & continuo decessit." Wil. Malm. De Gest. l. 1, c. 11.

(2) Chron. Ethelward. l. 11, c. 111. (3) Chron. Sax. Chron. Ethelwerd, &c.

(4) Huntingdon.

(5) Malm. Chron. Sax. Mat. West. Huntingdon, call him his son.

(6) At Beandune. Camden takes this to be Bindon, near Wareham; Gibson thinks it is Bampton, in Somersetsire.

(7) " Timentes aciem securium maximarum splendentium & framearum magnæ longitudinis." Hen. Hunt.

(8) Hen. Hunt. (9) Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. 11, c. 1x.

to submit to the terms imposed upon them by the conqueror. (1) In the next place, they had to defend themselves against the East Saxons, led on by Sexted and Seward, the apostate sons of the pious Christian king Sebert. (2) These princes advanced from London to attack them, and a most bloody engagement ensued, in which Kinegils and Quilchelm proved victorious, destroying the whole army of their enemies, with both their generals. (3) Lastly, being obliged to contend with Penda, who, with an army of his Mercians, had invaded their dominions, they defeated him at Cirencester, (4) and concluded by entering into a treaty with him. (5)

The succession which is here given of a race of kings, whose court and seat of government was chiefly held at Winchester, seems necessary, not only to keep up the connection of our city's history, for more than a century; but likewise to enable the reader to form an idea of its internal condition, during that period. It will readily be conceived that the general success of our warlike princes, must have tended to increase its population, and to improve its exterior appearance, since the time that Cerdic, after laying it waste, new founded it as a Saxon city. The only arts, however, that even at this later period flourished in it, were those that are connected with war. Commerce and science it had none. Its rude inhabitants were not so much as acquainted with the use of letters. In consequence of this defect, it had no laws nor constitution, but such as were precarious and undefined; and the princes, who subdued other kingdoms, were often the tyrants of their own. Its religion was of the same gloomy complexion with its manners. The highest pleasures to which its votaries aspired in a future state, were to sit in the hall of their deified ancestor Woden, quaffing

(1) " Bello inito, universos, quos in necem suam conspirasse didicerat, aut occidit, aut in deditionem recepit." Ibid.—It is then a false reading in Huntingdon: " Kinegils & Kichelmus pugnantes contra Edwinum jure necati sunt." Hist. l. II.

(2) Wil. Malm. De Gest. l. I. c. VI.

(3) Hen. Hunt. (4) Wil. Malm. l. I, c. II.

(5) Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. II.—This author represents the above-mentioned as a drawn battle.

strong ale out of the skulls of their slaughtered enemies.(1) But an event was now at hand, through the merciful disposition of Providence, which, in bettering their future prospects, contributed, at the same time, to remove their present defects, and to bestow upon them all the benefits of humanity and civilization.

(1) This horrid idea was not unfrequently reduced to practice by those northern barbarians, who, at this period had overrun all Europe, as may be gathered from the following anecdote, related by Matthew of Westminster:—" Albinus king of the Lombards, having conquered and put to death Cunimund, king of the Gepidæ, he caused his skull to be made into a cup to drink out of, which, on a certain occasion, he tauntingly presented to his queen, who was the daughter of Cunimund, saying to her, *surely you will not refuse to drink with your father.* In revenge for this cruel insult, she murdered her husband in his bed, with the help of his armour-bearer." In like manner, Chrumnus, king of the Bulgarians, having taken prisoner and put to death the Greek emperor Nicephorus, in the year 811, made a drinking cup of his skull, as Theophanes informs us. Flores, Hist. ad. an. 574.

CHAP. VI.

The Conversion of this City and Province, by St. Birinus.—A splendid Miracle recounted of him.—Baptism of King Kinegils.—The Cathedral new founded.—The Work interrupted, but is at length completed.—Misunderstanding between the King and the Bishop, concerning the Division of the West Saxon Diocese.—Palpable Errors of Hume.—Succession of our Kings.—Two of the greatest amongst them successively resign their Crowns, from a Motive of Religion.—Succession of the Bishops of the West Saxons.—The See is fixed at Winchester.—The Diocese is divided into different Sees.—Literature promoted by the Bishops.—Continuation of West Saxon Kings.—One of them assassinated near Winchester.—The Cathedral their common Burying Place.—Occasion of the disgraceful Law made against the Royal Consorts.—Influence of the Christian Religion on the State of the City, and the Manners of the Inhabitants.

EARLY in the seventh century the greatest part of the island had received the Christian faith. The ancient Britons, who were now confined to the mountains of Wales and to Cornwall, had never abandoned it, since they embraced it in the reign of their king Lucius. In the fifth century, the Picts were converted by St. Ninian, and the Scots by St. Palladius, who had received his commission from pope Celestine. (1) With respect to the different kingdoms of the Saxons, those to the south east and the north were in a great measure converted, with their respective kings, by St. Augustine, St. Paulinus, and the other monks sent on this charitable errand by pope Gregory the Great; (2) who had been infinitely desirous of undertaking it himself, and who actually left Rome for this

(1) Chron. of St. Prosper.

(2) Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. 1, c. XXIII.

purpose. (1) But our ancestors, who inhabited the southern and western parts of the island, together with the great nation which occupied most of the midland provinces, namely, the Mercians, were still immersed in the shades of idolatry; and as no such favourable circumstances appeared in their regard as had smoothed the way for the conversion of their country men, (2) it required an apostolic spirit of the most ardent kind in the preacher, who should first venture to disabuse them of their errors. Such was that of St. Birinus, a zealous priest, and according to some writers a monk, (3) but of what country is unknown; (4) who being informed of the state of Christianity in Britain, presented himself to pope Honorius, in order to receive a deputation from him to announce the gospel in those parts of the island, into which it had not yet penetrated. (5) His zeal meeting with due approbation and encouragement, he was directed to proceed to Genoa, which city lay directly in his way to Britain; to receive ordination from the Bishop of it, by name Asterius; (6) as likewise, in all probability, to learn the Saxon language from some of the Franks, who frequented that mart. (7)

(1) Paul. Diac. Dialog.

(2) Ethelbert, king of Kent, had married a Christian lady, Bertha, the daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, who had a French bishop for her chaplain, and a church in Canterbury for the practice of her religion, where St. Augustine and his companions were permitted, at their first arrival, " to sing, pray, say mass, preach, and baptize, without molestation." Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. i, c. xxvi.—A similar circumstance paved the way for St. Paulinus to preach to the Northumbrians. Edwin their king sent an embassy to Ethelbert, in order to demand his daughter Edelburgh in marriage; who, as well as her father, was a zealous Christian. The offer was accepted, but upon the condition that she might be at liberty to practice her religion. This furnished an opportunity for St. Paulinus, who accompanied her, to introduce Christianity into the north.

(3) Rudborne says he was a monk of St. Andrew's monastery in Rome, the same to which St. Augustine and most of his companions had belonged.

(4) John Brompton calls him a Roman. Wm. of Malmesbury says, " Dubium unde oriundus." (5) Bede, Hist. Ecc. l. iii, c. vii. (6) Ibid.

(7) St. Augustine and his companions, coming to preach the gospel to the English, took with them Franks for their interpreters; " Acceperunt autem, precipiente B. Papâ Gregorio de gente Francorum interpretes." Bede, Hist. l. i, c. xxv.—As there is no mention of

Proceeding from Genoa, through France, our apostle came to the sea-port on the channel, from which he was to embark for our island. Here, having performed the sacred mysteries, he left behind him what is called a corporal,(1) containing the blessed sacrament;(2) which he did not recollect until the vessel, in which he sailed, was some way out at sea. It was in vain to argue the case with the Pagan sailors who steered the ship, and it was impossible for him to leave his treasure behind him. In this extremity, supported by a strong faith, he stept out of the ship upon the waters, which became firm under his feet, and walked, in this manner, to the land: having secured what he was anxious about, he returned in the same manner on board the vessel, which had remained stationary in the place where he left it. The ship's crew were of the nation to which he was sent; and being struck with the miracle which they had witnessed, lent a docile ear to his instructions. Thus our apostle began the conversion of the West Saxons, before he landed upon their territory. This prodigy is so well attested (3) by the most judicious historians, that those who

interpreters to St. Birinus, it is probable that he learned the language, which then was common to the two nations of Franks and Saxons, namely, the Teutonic. The learned Verstegan proves at large, that the French tongue, before it was altered by an adoption of so many corrupt Latin words from the conquered Gauls, was radically the same with our own. To prove this curious fact, that Frenchmen originally spoke English; it will be sufficient to borrow from the above-mentioned author a few lines out of Otfrid's Introduction to his rhyming Translation of the Gospel, made about the year 850, into the French of that age;

Nu will Ih scriben unter heill
Now will I write our health (or salvation)
Evangeliono deil
Of the gospel the deal (or part)
So is nu hiar begunnun,
So is it now here begun,
In Frenkisga tungun
In the French tongue.

(1) Corporalia, ut ita dicuntur." Wil. Malm. De Gest. Pontif. l. II.
(2) John Brom. p. 755. Ed. Twys.
(3) Gul. Malm. Floren. Wigorn. Ranulph. Higden. John Brompton, Capgrave, &c.

have had the greatest interest to deny it, have not dared openly to do so. (1)

From the past conduct of Kinegils and Quilchelm, St. Birinus had reason to fear that he should meet with a very indifferent reception from them. Providence, however, disposed of events in such manner, that he was received at his first landing with the greatest kindness and respect. The consequence of this was, that he was enabled immediately to enter upon his pious career; the happy effects of which soon appeared, in the conversion of a great number of Pagans, and even of the two kings themselves. The providential circumstance here alluded to, was the presence of the powerful and religious king of the Northumbrians, Oswald, at the court of Kinegils, for the purpose of demanding his daughter in marriage; which happened at the very juncture of St. Birinus's arrival, namely, in 635. (2) It is readily conceived that his protection and example must have aided the lessons of our zealous missionary during his continuance in these parts, which was prolonged until he saw his father-in-law baptized; to whom, on this occasion, he acted in quality of sponsor or godfather, a circumstance which all our historians mention as something singular. (3)

Our apostle, with his fellow labourers, remained in this city, or in the

(1) John Fox, Acts and Monuments, Godwin, &c.—If there is any faith in history, and unless an absolute scepticism takes place, it must be admitted that miracles were frequently wrought, not only at the conversion of our ancestors, but also during the time that they continued in their primitive fervour and strength of faith. Nothing can more clearly prove this important fact than a letter of St. Gregory, still extant amongst his works, (Greg. l. IX, ep. LVIII.) addressed to his disciple St. Augustine, in which he cautions him in the most serious manner, not to take occasion of vanity from the many miracles, of which God made him the instrument at the time of the conversion of our ancestors.—Bede gives the following account and extract of this letter:—"Quo tempore misit etiam Augustinus epistolam super miraculis, quæ per eum facta esse cognoverat, in qua cum, ne per illorum copiam periculum elationis incurreret, his verbis hortatur: *Scio, frater, quia Deus, per dilectionem tuam, in gentem, quam eligi voluit magna miracula ostendit, unde necesse est ut timendo gaudeas, & gaudendo pertimescas, &c.*" Ecc. Hist. l. I, c. XXXI.

(2) Chron. Sax. Rudb. Hist. Maj.

(3) Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. III, c. VII. Will. Malm. De Gest. Pontif. Mat. West.

neighbourhood, until Christianity had taken deep root there, and a great part of the inhabitants were baptized. (1) He was then desirous of proceeding further into the country, with the same view; being mindful of his promise to pope Honorius, that he would announce the gospel in those interior parts of the island, whither the name of it had never yet reached. (2) This was the cause why Dorchester, near Oxford, then a considerable city, (3) and apparently the place where Quilchelm kept his court, was assigned to him by Kinegils and St. Oswald, (4) as a proper situation for the present establishment of his episcopal see; being one of the most centrical that could have been pointed out for propagating religion through the two extensive dioceses, which then equally belonged to him, those of the West Saxons, and the Mercians. In the following year, 636, he had the satisfaction of admitting Quilchelm to the sacred font in the said city, (5) but not until the latter found his health declining, and that he was in imminent danger of his dissolution; (6) which, in fact took place very soon afterwards. (7) Three years later our saint baptized his son Cuthred in the same city, and was himself his sponsor. (8)

(1) This seems very clear from the account of Malmsbury.

(2) "Pollicitus fuerat Birinus Honorio papæ quod extremas Anglorum penetraret provincias, ibi credulitatis saturus semina, ubi nec evangelii fuisset nomen auditum." Will. Malm. De Gest. Pontif. l. II.

(3) It has still a considerable church and great appearance of fortifications round it. Coins also, chiefly Roman, are dug up there in great abundance.

(4) All our historians agree that St. Oswald joined with Kinegils in this act of authority, the reason of which was, that at this time Oswald was the supreme monarch, or head of the Saxon heptarchy, as we are assured by Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. II.

(5) Chron. Sax. (6) Will. Malm. De Gest. Reg. l. II.

(7) The concurring testimony of Malmsbury, Huntingdon, the Saxon Chronicle, &c. concerning the baptism of Quilchelm, must outweigh that of Florilegus, who says, that this prince was killed in battle by Edwin, in the year 526, at a place which, from this circumstance, was called Quichelmes-haune. That there was a place so called from Quilchelm's being buried there, or from some other circumstance in his life, we are willing to admit, and are indeed surprised that neither Camden nor Gibson should have discovered it in *Cuckamsley hill*, on the Downs near Wantage. (8) Chron. Sax.

The establishment of the episcopal see at Dorchester, as we have intimated, was only a temporary regulation, in order to satisfy the zeal of St. Birinus; for it seems to have been settled, from the beginning, between that apostle and Kinegils, that the episcopal see should be removed to Winchester, where it had always existed before the Saxon invasion, as soon as the important business should be completed, for which the bishop removed to Dorchester. (1) Hence this pious monarch, whose passion for war was now turned into a zeal for religion, began, soon after his conversion, to collect materials for building a cathedral worthy of so great a prelate, and of this his royal city. (2) It was his intention also to settle a prodigious tract of land all round the city, (3) as a foundation for the said see; but being seized by a mortal distemper, he caused his son Kenewalk to be brought to him, and obliged him to swear, in the presence of St. Birinus, that he would punctually fulfil these his pious intentions. (4) His death happened in 643, (5) and he was buried in the cathedral church which he had begun to erect, where his remains are still preserved with due veneration. (6)

The young king, having mounted the throne, at first gave orders for the continuance of the work then in hand; (7) but being a Pagan, and carried away by headstrong passions, (8) he soon forgot his father's dying

(1) "Iste dedit S. Birino Civitatem Dorcacestriam, ut sederet interim in eâ donec conderet Ecclesiam tanto Pontifice dignam in regiâ civitate." Annales Ecc. Wint. Ang. Sac. vol. 1. p. 288.

(2) "In votis enim ejus erat in Wintoniâ ædificare templum præcipuum collectis jam plurimis ad opus ædificii, &c." Ibid.

(3) The annalist just quoted says, that this donation was to have extended to the distance of seven leagues round the city. But from the subsequent conduct of Kenewalk, who nevertheless is positively said to have fulfilled his oath, we must necessarily understand only certain places within that distance; such probably as actually belonged to the king.

(4) Annal. Wint. (5) Mat. West.

(6) See our Survey of the Cathedral Church.

(7) "An. 643. Cenwallus capessit regnum; jussit ædificari veterem ecclesiam in Wintanceaster." Chron. Sax.

(8) Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. III, c. VII. Will. Malm. De Gest. Reg. l. II. c. 2.

injunctions and his own vow. Hence the building of the church was interrupted for some years. (1) His extravagancies, however, brought with them their own punishment, and this punishment produced his conversion. Having repudiated his lawful wife Sexburga, the daughter of the powerful Mercian king Penda, he was, in the second year of his reign, overthrown by him in battle, and dispossessed of his kingdom. (2) In this extremity he sought an asylum in the court of the Christian king of the East Angles, whose name was Anna. (3) Remaining here in exile three years, he had leisure to reflect on his past misconduct; and being also moved by the exemplary conduct of his friend and protector, a wonderful change was wrought in his dispositions: so that he not only became a Christian, but also a model for Christian princes. (4) By the management of his friends, particularly of his kinsman Cuthred, he was, at the end of three years, restored to his crown. In this situation he had an opportunity, in a short time, of regaining his military character, by defeating, in different engagements, the Britons, (5) who had invaded his kingdom from the extremity of the west, where they still were in force. His liberality, or rather gratitude to Cuthred, is deservedly extolled by our historians; (6) for he bestowed upon him no less than 3000 hides of land, (7) which were computed to be almost a third part of his whole kingdom. (8) The principality appears to have been the same which his father Quilchelm had held, (9) consisting of Berkshire and part of Oxfordshire.

But what more particularly relates to our present purpose is, that this prince no sooner recovered his kingdom, than he seriously set about

(1) Annal. Wint. (2) Mat. West. Chron. Sax.

(3) Bede, &c.

(4) Will. Malm. De Gest. Reg. (5) Idem. Hen. Hunt.

(6) Will. Malm. Mat. West.

(7) Chron. Sax.—N.B. A hyde of land, according to Brompton, was such a quantity as is usually tilled by one plough in a season.

(8) Will. Malm. De Gest. Reg. l. i, c. ii.

(9) "Prope Æscesdune." Chron. Sax.

finishing the cathedral of Winchester, (1) which his father had begun. This was done in the most complete and magnificent manner that the age was acquainted with. St. Gregory had consented that the Pagan temples, throughout the country, upon the conversion of the inhabitants, should not be destroyed; but that they should be consecrated into Christian churches by the sprinkling of holy water, the erection of altars, and the placing of relics in them. (2) But our munificent founders, Kinegils and Kenewalk, would not avail themselves of this permission, but began by levelling the old cathedral, which had now for 130 years been a heathen temple; and on the site of it they, for the third time, built a Christian church. And whereas the churches that were raised, upon the conversion of our ancestors, were, in general, of very rude workmanship, being nothing else, for the most part, but trunks of trees, placed close to each other, and covered with reeds, (3) and being also built upon a very contracted scale; our cathedral was celebrated for the beauty of its first architecture, (4) and

(1) Florilegus expressly says, that the church which Kenewalk was at this time employed in building at Winchester, was for the purpose of a cathedral; "Eodem tempore Kiniwalchus sedem episcopalem in Wintoniâ fundavit." An. 544.

(2) "Quod fana idolorum destrui minime debeant: sed ipsa quæ in eis sunt idola destruantur. Aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiæ componantur. Quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequia veri Dei debeant commutari." Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. I. c. XXX.

(3) The cathedral of York, built by king Edwin, was, at first, of no other materials; "Ecclecia S. Petri quam ipse de ligno construxerat." Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. III.—That this was the first style of building churches, adopted by our ancestors, and likewise that they soon after changed it for a better, is clear from the following passages:—Finan in Insula Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sedi congruam. Quam tamen, more Scotorum, non de lapide sed de robore secto totam composuit atque arundine texit. Sed episcopus Eadbert, ablatâ arundine, plumbi laminis eam totam, hoc est & tectum & ipsos parietes ejus cooperiri curavit. Bede, Ecc. Hist l. III, c. XXV.—The same historian, speaking of Natan, king of the Picts, says, "Architectos sibi mitti petiit qui juxta morem Romanorum, ecclesiam de lapide ingenti ipsius facerent." L. V, c. XXII.

(4) "Templum, per id temporis, pulcherrimum." Will. Malm. De Gest. Reg. l. II, c. II.—"Ecclesiam pulcherrimam construxit in Wyntoniâ." Rudb.—If it be asked how Kenewalk was taught to erect his cathedral in a better style than seems to have been generally known

its dimensions were the same which it afterwards possessed, when no expence was spared to make it as magnificent as possible. (1) Together with the church, Kenewalk erected suitable offices for the monks or regular canons, (2) who performed the divine office and ministry in it; and he endowed the new establishment with all the lands which his father had left for that purpose, to which he added the manors of Downton, Alresford, and Worthy. (3) The whole being finished, St. Birinus came to our city, and dedicated this famous seat of his successors in the name of the Holy Trinity, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, (4) in the year of our Lord 548. (5) After this he returned to Dorchester, where he died the death of the just, and was buried in 650. (6) We shall see that his body was afterwards translated to Winchester.

Our apostle being now no more, a learned and zealous priest, by name Agilbert, a native of France, but one who had studied the holy scriptures a long time in Ireland, (7) and had since been a fellow labourer with

at the time we are speaking of? we may answer, that he was probably assisted by the talents of the famous abbot St. Bennet Biscop, who, we are assured, was his particular friend, and who took immense pains, in procuring skilful masons, glaziers, and other artificers, from France and Italy, to build churches in this island. See Venerable Bede's History of the Abbots of Wiremouth, published by Sir J. Ware.

(1) " Quod loci posteritas in sede episcopali fundandâ, etsi augustiori peritiâ, per eadem tamen cucurrit vestigia." Gul. Malm. De Gest. Reg. l. II, c. II.

(2) Rudborne, Hist. Maj. l. II, c. II.—N.B. Of what institute the clergy were who served the cathedral at this period, we shall discuss when we come to treat of the reign of Edgar.

(3) Annal. Wint. an. 539.

(4) Rudborne says, that this church was dedicated in the name of the Holy Trinity. Hist. Maj. l. II, c. II.—Ven. Bede expressly calls it by the name of St. Peter and St. Paul. L. III, c. VII.—The Saxon Chronicle terms it St. Peter's church. An. 643.—It remains to say, that it was dedicated in the several names mentioned above, which is strictly conformable to ecclesiastical usage.

(5) Rudborne. (6) Idem.

(7) " Legendarum gratiâ scripturarum in Hybernià non parvo tempore commoratus." Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. III, c. VII.—We learn from different passages in this historian, and from other ancient writers, that Ireland was, in the age of which we are speaking, the great

St. Birinus, was requested by king Kenwalch to become his successor. Yielding to the earnest entreaties that were made to him on this subject, (1) he governed his extensive diocese with equal reputation for piety and talents; being, in particular, assiduous in preaching the gospel (2) in this city, which he considered as his principal seat, (3) and where the West Saxon court was also held. One defect, however, he laboured under, namely, a certain foreign pronunciation of the Saxon tongue, which sounded uncouth and barbarous in the ears of Kenewalk. (4) He resolved therefore to have a more polished preacher for his royal city. With this view, having procured an Englishman, called Wina, of great talents, (5) but a person of an intriguing and ambitious turn, to be consecrated in France; (6) he ventured, by his own authority, to divide the diocese into two portions; assigning that of Dorchester, with the counties to the north of his kingdom, to Agilbert, and keeping Winchester, with those to the south, for his favourite Wina. This happened in 560. (7) Agilbert being well acquainted

store-house of literature, to which students flocked from other countries, and from which the most learned men were obtained to enlighten the different parts of the continent. "Erant ibi in Hyberniâ multi nobilium simul et mediocrum de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finani & Colmani episcoporum, relictâ insulâ patriâ, vel divinæ lectionis vel continentioris vitæ gratiâ, illò secesserant. Quos omnes Scoti *(id est Hyberni)* libentissime suscipientes, victum eis quotidianum, sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum, & Magisterium gratuitum præbere curabant." Ibid. l. III. c. XXVII.—See Camden concerning Ireland, at the end of his Britannia, where he signifies that our ancestors, the Saxons, borrowed the form of their alphabet from the Irish.

(1) Bede. (2) "Erat prædicator egregius & doctor." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. II. c. III.

(3) "Agilbertus XV. annos provinciæ West-Saxonum apud Wentam præsedit." Polychronicon, l. v.

(4) "Rex pertæsus barbaræ loquelæ." Bede. Polychon.—The Franks, by a mixture of Latin words, early corrupted the Teutonic tongue, as we have remarked above.

(5) Rudborne says he was a monk (that is to say a regular canon) of Winchester cathedral. It is not likely that he should lay claim to such a character, as belonging to his monastery, unless he had found the proofs very strong for this fact.

(6) Bede. Will. Malm.

(7) Chron. Sax.

with the irregularity and invalidity of this measure, (1) as likewise with the unlawfulness of his even conniving at it, resigned his see entirely, and retired to his native country, where his merit being known, he was soon appointed bishop of Paris. (2) In the mean time, Kenewalk discovering the true character of Wina, at the end of three years (3) expelled him out of the diocese. Thus, from having two bishops at a time, it now had none: in which destitute state it continued four years; (4) when Kenewalk, awakened, as he had formerly been in similar circumstances, to a sense of his guilt, by the calamities which he and his people then endured, in consequence of some severe defeats from the Mercians, sent an embassy to request Agilbert to return to his former see. This the latter represented to be impossible in his present circumstances: but being anxious for the welfare of that flock, in the service of which he had so much laboured, he recommended his nephew Eleutherius, who was renowned for his piety and his learning, (5) to be bishop in his stead. He was accordingly received with open arms both by prince and people, and consecrated bishop of the West Saxons, by the archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore, in 670. (6) In the mean time the unworthy prelate Wina, not to lose his consequence in the eyes of the world, purchased the favour of Wulphere, king of the Mercians, whose superior power and authority rendered his recommendation of Wina to the East Saxon king Sebba, as a proper person to fill the vacant see of London, equivalent to a command. He was consequently nominated to that diocese; (7) and, according to Bede, continued to hold it during the remainder of his life. (8) The

(1) It being a fundamental principle of the canon law, that no act, affecting ecclesiastical jurisdiction, is valid, unless it proceed from a competent ecclesiastical authority. On this subject see Collyer's Ch. Hist. tom. 1, b. 11.

(2) His name is inserted in the list of saints belonging to that church. Martyrol. Gallic.

(3) Chron. Sax. (4) Ibid.

(5) "Vir demirandæ sanctitatis & doctrinæ." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. 11, c. 11.

(6) Chron. Sax. Bede.

(7) Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. 111, c. VII. Will. Malm. De Gest. Pontif. (8) Ibid.

monk of this cathedral, however, with more probability, (1) says, that being struck with remorse, he retired to his ancient monastery at Winchester, and spent the three last years of his life in acts of penance, constantly repeating this sentence: *If we have erred in our youth, let us repent in our old age.* (2)—But it is now time to look back to the civil state of this city and province, as connected with the fortune of its sovereign.

Kenewalk was far from meeting with the same success in contending with his countrymen of Mercia, that he had experienced in his wars with the Britons. In the year 661, he suffered almost as heavy a calamity from Wulphere, the king of that people, as he had experienced fifteen years before from his father, Penda; being defeated and put to flight by him in a general engagement, (3) and his whole kingdom being overrun by the victorious army, which was not stopped in its course even by the sea. For passing over into the Isle of Wight, Wulphere made a complete conquest of it: (4) and, as it was his policy to establish a counterpoise to the West Saxon kingdom, so that it might no longer be in a condition to contend for superiority with that of Mercia; he wrested this important island, and with it the territory of the Meanuarii, (5) from the West Saxons, to whom they before belonged, annexing them to the principality of the South Saxons, which he withdrew from its former subjection to our monarchs. The South Saxon king, at that time, was Edilwalch, (6) the son of Cissa, and only the second in succession from the mighty Ella, the founder of that kingdom. (7) Professing himself at this time a Christian, Wulphere became his godfather, and also appointed certain missionaries to preach the gospel to his subjects. (8) These, however, met with little success until the famous

(1) This probability rests chiefly on the circumstance of Wina being buried in our cathedral, as the inscription on his monument there testified.

(2) Semper hæc verba ruminabat: Erravimus juvenes, emendemus senes." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. II, c. III. (3) Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. II. (4) Idem.

(5) Bede, Eec. Hist. l. IV, c. XIII.—This territory was upon the borders of the two kingdoms, the vestiges of its name still remain in East Meon, West Meon, and Meon Stoke.

(6) Bede. (7) Hen. Hunt. Floren. Wigorn. (8) Bede.

St. Wilfrid from the north, afterwards joined them. As to our Kenewalk, yielding to the pressure of the times, which required a reduction of his power, and submitting to the heavy judgment of God, which almost depopulated this city and country by a plague, that from hence spread itself over the rest of Britain, (1) he passed the remainder of his days in peace: being chiefly intent on works of piety and charity, the effects of which were experienced by different monasteries, particularly by that venerable *Mother of Saints* (2) as Glassenbury was called. (3) He closed his variegated life in 574, after a reign of 31 years, (4) and was buried in the cathedral, which he had raised in this his chief city. (5)

Upon the death of Kenewalk, his widow Sexburga endeavoured to prove herself capable of swaying the sceptre, to which she was appointed by the last will of her husband, (6) who was desirous of making her satisfaction for the affront he had formerly put upon her; nor was any thing wanting, says a judicious historian, (7) except the necessary sex, to make her reign happy and glorious. But the martial West Saxons, holding it unworthy of them to take the field under a female commander, (8) she was obliged to abdicate the throne at the end of the year. Upon this Escuin, a collateral branch of the royal family (9) mounted the throne; and being of a military disposition, endeavoured to recover the former ascendancy of the West Saxons over the Mercians. For this purpose he fought a terrible battle with them at Bedwin, in Wiltshire, (10) which, without being decisive,

(1) Bede, l. iv, Higden, and Chron. Sax. ad. an. 664. (2) Charta Regis. Hen. ii.
(3) Antiq. Glaston. (4) Secundum Chron. Sax. ad. an. 672.
(5) Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. ii, c. iii. (6) Will. Malm. De Gest. l. i.

(7) " Nec deerat mulieri spiritus ad obeunda regni munia. Ipsa novos exercitus moliri, veteres tenere in officio, ipsa subjectos clementer moderari, hostibus minaciter infremere, prorsus omnia facere, ut nihil præter sexum discerneres. Verumtamen plus quam animos fæmineos anhelantem vita destituit, vix annuâ potestate perfunctam." Will. Malm. ibid.

(8) " Indignantibus regni magnatibus, expulsa est a regno, nolentibus sub sexu fæmineo militare." Mat. West. ad. an. 672. Rud. Hist. Maj.—It will be perceived that the two last quoted historians do not quite agree with the former concerning the occasion of Sexburga's ceasing to reign. (9) See his pedigree, Chron. Sax. an. 674.

(13) Bedanhafde, Chron. Sax. Bedwin, Ita Gibson ad calcem.

proved fatal to many thousands on each side. (1) In a very short time afterwards he himself died, and was buried in the church of Winchester. (2) There was still a son of our first Christian king alive, by name Kentwin. (3) He succeeded Escuin, or, according to some authors, reigned jointly with him; (4) and is celebrated for completely subduing the Britons of Devonshire and Cornwall, (5) who had so often disturbed the West Saxon kingdom. He died in 685, and, according to the annalist of our city, was buried in the cathedral. (6)

Ceadwella, a descendant of Cerdic and Ceaulin, who next swayed the sceptre, in this capital, over the West Saxon provinces, was a youth of the most unbridled passions: turbulent, ambitious, and sanguinary in the extreme; but engaging and popular among the military, by whose favour he seems to have risen to the throne, after having been banished from the kingdom for sedition, in the preceding reign. The three short years of his power are filled with great and daring enterprises. Whilst yet in exile, (7) he found himself able to cope with Edilwalk, king of Sussex, whom he routed and killed in battle; and though he afterwards met with a check from two generals of the deceased, this only roused him to more vigorous exertions, when, soon afterwards, he became king. In short, he reduced the whole South Saxon kingdom under his yoke, and carried his victorious

(1) On this occasion an ancient historian indulges in the following moral reflections:—"Operæ pretium est attendere quam viles sunt actus hominum, quam vilia sunt bella regum gloriosa, & gesta nobilia. Cum enim reges prædicti tantam cladem genti suæ, causa pompæ & tumoris & inanis gloriæ, ingessissent, alter eorum, viz. Wulphere, eodem anno, morbo periit, alter vero sequenti." Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. II.

(2) Annales Ecc. Wint.

(3) There was one more surviving son of Kinegils, viz. Egilwin, who seems to have been a monk, and whose memory for sanctity was perpetuated in the monastery of Adeling, of which he was the patron. Will. Malm. De Pontif. l. II.

(4) This seems to be the sense of Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. IV, c. XII. Will. Malm.

(5) Mat. West. an. 685.—"Kentwinus fugavit occidentales Britones in ore gladii, usque ad mare." Ranulph. Higden.

(6) Annal. Wint. ad. an. 670.—Malmsbury, however, speaks of a Kentwin buried at Glassenbury. Antiq. Glassen.

(7) Bede, l. IV, c. XV.

arms into the kingdom of Kent, which he laid waste with fire and sword. (1) In this expedition, however, he lost his brother Mull, or Mollo; who, with a small party of men, was surrounded and burnt in a cottage, whither he had retired to defend himself. (2) Ceadwalla likewise crossed over into the Isle of Wight, where he committed equal excesses, and was once upon the point of putting to the sword all the inhabitants of it indiscriminately, in order to supply their place with a fresh colony from his own kingdom. (3) It seems to have been owing to the entreaties of St. Wilfrid, who was then preaching the gospel in the island, and whom he greatly respected, (4) that he did not carry his barbarous resolution into effect. The king of the island, Arvald, who must have been a descendant of Withgar, and therefore a relation of his own, he actually put to death, with most of his family. (5) With respect, however, to the two royal youths, his brothers, who had escaped and lay hidden in the neighbouring village of Stoneham, (6) until they were betrayed into his hands, one Cimbert, the abbot of a monastery which then existed at Redbridge, (7) obtained a respite for them, until they could be instructed and baptized. For historians remark, that Ceadwella, though yet a Pagan, had a respect for Christianity; which he carried so far, as to dedicate to the service of God the tenth part of the spoils which he took in war. (8) Soon after this, being instructed by St. Wilfrid, he professed himself a Christian from conviction; when his ideas and dispositions underwent an astonishing

(1) Will. Malm. Hen. Hunt.
(2) Iidem. Higd.
(3) Bede, l. iv, c. xvi.
(4) Idem. Higd.
(5) Bede, ibid. Mat. West.
(6) *Ad Lapidem.* Bede, ibid.

(7) Readford, *id est*, *Vadum Arundinis.* Bede, ibid.—*Redford.* Mat. West. ad. an. 687.—When a bridge was afterwards built at this ford, it of course took the name of Reedbridge or Redbridge. The place is still remarkable for the quantity and size of the reeds which it produces.

(8) It may be proper here to insert the reflection of a certain monkish historian, concerning this offering of Ceadwalla; "In quo etsi approbamus affectum, improbamus exemplum, juxta illud: *qui offert sacrificium de substantiâ pauperis, quasi qui immolat filium in conspectu patris.*" Will. Malm. De Reg. l. i, c. ii.

change. He became moderate, gentle, humble, and disengaged from the things of the earth; insomuch that he renounced his crown, and went to Rome to do penance and receive baptism. There he died, whilst yet he had on the white garments, which it was customary to wear eight days after that important ceremony. (1)

Ina was promoted to the vacant throne, says our historian, (2) more for his valour, prudence, and piety, than for his right of birth; though he was of the blood royal, and a nephew of Kinegils. (3) He justified the expectations that had been formed of him, during a reign of 37 years; in which he humbled the Mercians, subjugated the South Saxons, and forced the king of Kent to pay him a tribute. He is still more celebrated for the wise laws by which he secured the internal peace and happiness of his subjects, (4) than for the victories which he gained over his enemies: and his benefactions to the church are highly extolled by those who received the benefit of them. (5) He entirely rebuilt the famous convent of Glastenbury, which he endowed with ample privileges, (6) and settled Peter's pence upon the see of Rome; which was a tax of a penny upon every family in his kingdom, (7) for the support of that see, at a time when it had not yet received those extensive territorial possessions, which were afterwards settled upon it: as likewise for the support of an ample hospital and school, in favour of the pilgrims of this nation, who flocked to that city in great numbers, and who felt the want of such an institution. (8) He was blessed with a queen, by name Ethelburga, who was not inferior to himself in the nobility of her sentiments, and who was his superior in the sentiments of religion. The king being unable, on a certain occasion, to lead his army

(1) Bede. Mat. West. ad an. 789.

(2) Will. Malm.

(3) See his pedigree in Chron. Sax. an. 687.

(4) "Indicio sunt leges ad corrigendos mores in populo latæ: in quibus vivum, ad hoc tempus puritatis suæ resultat speculum." Will. Malm. De Reg. l. 1, c. 11.—Many of these laws are extant in Brompton.

(5) Will. Malm. De Reg.

(6) Antiq. Glaston.

(7) Mat. West. ad an. 727.

(8) Mat. West.

against a body of South Saxons, who had penetrated into the west, and seized upon the castle of Taunton; she took the command of it in his stead, laid siege to the castle, and pressed it with such vigour, that it was reduced to a heap of ruins. (1) Still, however, her inclinations led her to a more retired and religious kind of life than that of a court, and she was desirous that her husband should experience the same. She had frequently spoken to him of the uncertainty and vanity of all worldly grandeur; when at length she made use of a very singular expedient to impress this truth upon his mind, of which, as it took place at the palace of Ina, our city was most probably the scene. (2) The king having celebrated a royal feast, had left his palace in the highest order and state of magnificence, and was proceeding, in company with his queen, to some other part of his dominions; when the latter, who had given directions and taken measures conformably to her intentions, took some occasion or other to induce him, after proceeding a mile or two, to return back to the palace. Being arrived there, he enters and is astonished at the change which has taken place, in the short interval of his absence. The servants have all disappeared, the rich vessels and furniture have been carried off, the halls and chambers are laid waste, and filled with ruins and dirt; and, to complete the scene, a litter of filthy pigs is seen lying on the royal couch. Whilst Ina surveys this scene in silence, Ethelburga, with the most moving eloquence, draws the moral lessons, for which she had calculated it, concerning the transitory nature of all wordly enjoyments, and the great change that death will occasion in us. (3) In a word, our historian ascribes to this pious artifice of

(1) Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. iv. Chron. Sax. ad. an. 672.

(2) Will. Malm. De Gest. Reg. l. i, c. ii. Polychron. ad. an. 728.

(3) " Ubi sunt, Domine conjux, hesterni strepitus? Ubi sunt aulea sidoniis fucis ebria? Ubi parasitorum discurrens petulantia? Ubi dædalea vasa, pondere metallorum, mensas ipsas onerantia? Ubi terrâ marique exquisita ad gulæ lenocinium obsonia? Nonne omnia fucus et ventus? Nonne omnia transierunt? Et væ his qui hæserint; quia scilicet trahentur! Cogita quæso, quam miserabiliter defluent carnes, quæ modo in deliciis nutriuntur. Nonne nos, qui ingurgitamur uberius putrescimus miserius? *Potentes potenter tormenta patientur & fortioribus fortior instat cruciatio!*" Sap. c. vi, v. 7. Will. Malm.

the queen, an act of self denial, which appears so extraordinary at this day, but which was then so common amongst our Saxon princes, (1) in the first fervor of their conversion, namely, the relinquishing of his crown, to attend solely to his sanctification. In order to withdraw himself still more from the eyes of the world, he went to Rome; where having settled what related to the English school, he cut off his long hair, which was a mark of dignity amongst the Saxons, as well as the Franks, (2) put on a mean dress, (3) and shortly after departed this life. (4) As to queen Ethelburga,

(1) Amongst others of our West Saxon kings, who relinquished their crowns about this time, in order to embrace a monastic or retired course of life, were Sigebert, king of the East Angles; Ethelred, and Kenred, his successor, kings of Mercia; Sebba and Offa, kings of the East Saxons; and Ceolwulph and Egbright, kings of the Northumbers. The number of queens, princes, and princesses, who renounced the distinctions and pleasures of life, with the same view, is incredible. The author of the Monasticon says, that above thirty kings and queens made this sacrifice within the two first centuries after the conversion of our ancestors. Those who condemn this abdication, as superstitious, when performed for the sake of religion, would extol it, as an act of heroism, if it were grounded on a philosophic contempt of wealth and state, or on a preference of the calm pleasures of domestic life or of studious retirement.

(2) Montfaucon, Monarchie Françoise. (3) Gul. Malm.

(4) The most celebrated of our modern historians says, that Ina, "in the decline of his age, made a pilgrimage to Rome, and on his return shut himself up in a cloister, where he died." Hume, Hist. of Eng. c. 1.—In support of this account he quotes Bede, Chron. Sax. Higd. Will. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Mat. West.—Now the truth is, every one of this formidable band of historians gives the lie to this account, according to whom Ina did not return to England, but died at Rome; nor is there any mention or intimation of his living in a cloister. Let the brief Saxon Chronicle speak in the name of the other authorities quoted; "An. 728. Hoc anno Ina profectus est Romam, & ibi animam efflavit."—In the preceding part of the same chapter, this writer, in giving the succession of our West Saxon kings, says, that "Ceaulin being expelled the throne, Cwichelm and Cuthwin, his sons, governed jointly the kingdom, till the expulsion of the latter in 591, and the death of the former in 593, made way for Cealric." For the truth of this statement he appears to quote the Saxon Chronicle and Higden, both of whom flatly contradict it. "An. 591. Hoc anno Ceawlinus pulsus est & Ceolricus quinque annos regnavit." Chron. Sax.—"An. 597. Hoc anno Ceolwulphus incæpit regnare in Occidentalibus Saxonibus." Ibid.—The same is the account of Higden, Will. Malm. Hen. Hunt. &c.—Here we evidently see there is no room for the

she retired to the abbey of Barking, of which her sister was abbess, where she died, celebrated for her sanctity, in the year 741. (1)

We left Eleutherius, the fourth bishop of the West Saxons, just consecrated by Theodore to the whole extensive diocese, as it had originally existed. In fact we are given to understand that the conduct of Kenewalk, in dividing it by his own authority, was censured, as irregular and invalid, by an ecclesiastical synod. (2) Eleutherius appears to have been consecrated in this city, and chiefly to have resided here; (3) nevertheless he refused as yet formally to transfer the see hither, to prevent the appearance of his giving the least countenance to a measure which had proved so injurious to his uncle. He was assiduous in the discharge of his duty, (4) and amongst other pious works, is celebrated for having supported and assisted St. Aldhelm in raising the hermitage of his master, Maydulph, an Irish hermit, (5) into the famous abbey of Malmsbury; the chief seat of learn-

reign of either Cwichelm or Cuthwin. In fact, Cwichelm was the brother, not the son, of Ceaulin, and neither he nor Cuthwin ever reigned, and therefore neither of them could be dethroned. It was Ceaulin himself who was expelled the throne in 591.—The writer goes on: "to him (Cealric) succeeded Ceobald, in 593." He had told us in the preceding line, that it was Cealric himself who came to the throne in 593.—Such unpardonable carelessness in writing history, proves that the author's object was to amuse rather than to instruct.—The learned Whitaker, in his *History of Manchester*, has obliged the world with a just criticism on three or four of the first pages of Hume's history. An equal number of errors might be collected from the same quantity of matter, taken indiscriminately from his history, as well as from the writings of most of our modern historians.

(1) Higden. Martyrol. Anglic.

(2) "Ex synodicâ sanctione episcopatum Gewissecorum solus gessit." Bede, l. III, c. VII.—This synod seems to have been that of Thetford, the second canon of which refers to the conduct of Wina, in accepting part of the West Saxon diocese.

(3) "In ipsa civitate consecratus." Bede, ibid.—"In pontificatum Wentanæ civitatis assumitur." Rudb. l. II, c. III. Godwin de Præsul.

(4) "Sedulo moderamine episcopatum gessit." Bede.

(5) "Meydulf, natione Scotus, eruditione philosophus, professione monachus." Will. Malm. De Vita St. Aldhelmi. Ang. Sax. vol. II. p. 3.—N. B. The natives of Ireland, of whom the proper Scotch were a colony, are generally called Scoti, by ancient writers, both ecclesiastical and profane.

ing, for many succeeding years, in the western kingdom. Eleutherius died in 676, and was succeeded by St. Hedda, who had been first a monk, and then abbot of the monastery of Streneschal, (1) and who was consecrated at London by Archbishop Theodore. (2) Venerable Bede testifies of him that he was a good and just man, who executed his episcopal charge more by the innate force of virtue, than by the aid of human learning; (3) but the monk of Malmsbury, an able judge in such matters, declares that his letters, which he had seen in the monastery of that name, addressed by Hedda to St. Aldhelm, prove him to have been no contemptible scholar. (4) This prelate executed the plan, which had been projected by our apostle, at his first entrance into the kingdom, of removing the episcopal see entirely to this royal city. (5) What seems to have determined him in taking this step was, that the kingdom of the Mercians, in which his predecessors had hitherto maintained an authority, being now quite converted, four several bishopries were erected, by the authority of the metropolitan, (6) amongst which the jurisdiction of the whole province was divided; so that the West Saxon bishop, having no longer any authority there, had no occasion to reside at Dorchester, upon the borders of it. Upon his removal to Winchester, he carried with him the remains of the great St. Birinus, (7) which were deposited in our cathedral. Here also St. Hedda himself was buried, according to our native historian, (8) and his tomb is mentioned by Bede as having been famous for the prodigies wrought at it. (9)

The diocese of the West Saxons, thus restrained within its proper bounds, and fixed at its capital city, Winchester, was still found too extensive to be governed by one bishop, now that the great body of the inhabitants were converted to Christianity in every part. Accordingly, upon the death of St. Hedda, the diocese was divided, not by royal au-

(1) Rudb. l. II, c. III. Will. Malm.
(2) Bede, l. IV, c. XII.
(3) Ecc. Hist. l. V, c. XIX.
(4) Will. Malm. De Gest. Pontif. l. II.
(5) Will. Malm. De Gest. Pontif. l. II. Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. II, c. III.
(6) Godwin, De Presul. p. 205.
(7) Bede, Hist. l. III, c. VII. Will. Malm. Rudb.
(8) Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. II.
(9) Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. V, c. XIX.

thority, (1) as had been done in a former instance, and which had been productive of so much confusion; but by an episcopal synod, as we are positively assured. (2) To the see of Winchester were assigned the counties of Hampshire, Surry, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight; to the other see, which was first established at Shirburn, were given the other provinces. To both of them were appointed bishops of the greatest character in the kingdom for learning and piety, who were also both of them monks of the new monastery and school of Malmsbury. Our bishop, who was a native of these parts, and by name Daniel, had such a reputation for sacred literature, that he was frequently consulted by the great apostle of Germany, St. Boniface, in preference to all the learned men on the continent. Venerable Bede, also, in the preface to his invaluable Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, owns his literary obligations to Bishop Daniel. (3) The chief writings which he left behind him were, a History of the Kingdom of the South Saxons, a History of the Isle of Wight, and the Life of St. Chad. (4) In a subsequent synod to that already mentioned, it was thought advisable that the province of the South Saxons, which was last of all converted to the faith by the zeal of St. Wilfrid, (5) should have a separate bishopric established in it. Daniel, far from regretting the diminution of his diocese, which this measure would occasion, was the most forward to promote it; accordingly a new see was erected for Sussex, which was fixed at the monastery of Selsea, (6) and afterwards removed to Chichester. With respect to the bishop of Winchester, having executed his charge with great zeal and piety, during the space of 43 years, (7) he formally resigned it, in order

(1) Godwin, De Præsul. p. 205, erroneously states this act of jurisdiction to have been performed by king Ina.

(2) "Synodali concilio, diocæsis, ultra modum protensa, in duas sedes divisa. Will. Malm. in Vit. St. Aldhelm. Ang. Sac. vol. II, p. 20.

(3) Vid. Præfat, Ecc. Hist.

(4) Harpsfield, Cressy, Godwin, De Præsul.

(5) Bede, Ecc. Hist.

(6) Bede, l. v, c. XIX.—Selsey or Seolsea, i. e. the Isle of Seals or Porpusses.

(7) Chron. Sax.

to die in the condition of a private monk, in his beloved solitude at Malmsbury. (1)

The other bishop of the West Saxons was still more famous than the above-mentioned, for learning and sanctity. This was St. Aldhelm, a person of noble birth, great talents, and intense application; who, under great disadvantages, in the infancy of literature, became an eminent scholar, both in the Latin and the Greek tongues, and wrote with spirit and elegance in verse as well as prose. (2) It appears, by extracts from his works, that he was a proficient in law and astronomy, (3) no less than in divinity and polite literature; nor did he disdain to unbend his own mind, and the minds of his scholars, with poetical anagrams and ænigmas. (4) It was to his indefatigable pains in his monastery of Malmsbury, whilst he was abbot and chief master there, that a taste for classical, as well as sacred learning, was diffused amongst our rude ancestors; (5) but the Irish hermit, Maydulph, must not be forgotten, to whom Aldhelm himself was indebted for the ground work of his learning. (6) A more important and honourable employment was that which was imposed upon him by an episcopal synod, of writing a treatise, in order to convince the Britons of their error concerning Easter, which treatise produced the desired effect. (7) For it having been debated in the synod, by what means this people, no less obstinate in their

(1) Will. Malm. De Pontif. Rudborne.

(2) See the life of him, written at large by William of Malmsbury, Ang. Sac. vol. II, from which the following passage, at the end of his book, *De Schematibus*, is borrowed, by way of illustrating what is said above, concerning the early obligations of literature to our saints:—" Hæc de metrorum generibus & schematibus, pro utilitate ingenii mei habes; multa laboriosè, nescio si fructuosè collecta; quamvis mihi conscius sum illud me Virgilianum posse jactare.

Primus ego in patriam, mecum, modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice musas."

(3) See his letter to our bishop Hedda. Ang. Sac. vol. II, p. 6.

(4) " *Aldhelmus cecinit millenis versibus odas.*" Vide ibid. p. 7.

(5) " Curritur ad Aldhelmum totis semitis, his vitæ sanctimoniam, illis literarum scientiam desiderantibus." Ibid. p. 10. (6) Ibid. p. 3.

(7) Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. v, c. XIX. Will. Malm. De Vit. Aldhelm.

error than implacable in their resentment, and many of them now subject to our king Kentwin, might be brought to a uniform observance, in the few points (1) in which they differed from the usages of the Roman church; it was resolved that force was not to be resorted to, but arguments only; (2) and that Aldhelm was the most capable of placing these in their true light. (3)

The resignation of bishop Daniel took place in the year 744. After him Humfred (4) filled the see of Winchester ten years, and Kinebard six-and-twenty. His death, which happened in the year 780, made place for another monk and abbot of Malmsbury, (5) who was celebrated for his virtues and learning, (6) by name Athelard. His merit and talents afterwards raised him to the metropolitical see of Canterbury; when he was succeeded at Winchester by Egbald; (7) after whom came Dudda, Kinebert, Almund, and Wighten. (8) The last mentioned was a monk of Glassenbury, and had the honour of placing the undivided crown of all England on the head of the first of its monarchs, as we shall see below.

King Ina had resigned his crown in favour of his kinsman Aethelherd. (9) The latter, after suppressing the rebellion of Oswald, who thought

(1) The most essential of these was the observance of Easter at a wrong time, by which means all the other moveable holidays were misplaced; and, amongst Christians of the same communion, one part was performing all the austerities and the mournful service of Lent, whilst the other was eating flesh meat, and singing the alleluias of the Pascal solemnity. There were two other points, and two only, in which St. Augustine required their conformity, as the condition of communicating with them; namely, that they should change certain ceremonies which they made use of in baptism; and that, laying aside their resentment against the English, they should join with him and his fellow labourers from Rome, in preaching the gospel to them. "Si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis, ut pascha suo tempore celebretis, ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem Romanæ sanctæ ecclesiæ & apostolicæ compleatis, ut genti Anglorum, una nobiscum, prædicetis verbum Domini, cætera æquanimiter cuncta tolerabimus." Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. II, c. II.

(2) "Non vi cogendos schismaticos, sed rationibus ducendos." Will. Malm. in Vit. Ald. Ang. Sac. vol. II, p. 15.

(3) Ibid. p. 15.

(4) Gul. Malm. Rudborne.

(5) Idem.

(6) Godwin, De Præsul. p. 47.

(7) Gul. Malm. Rudborne.

(8) Idem.

(9) Chron. Sax.

himself injured by this disposition, wore it in peace 14 years. He died in 741, and was buried in the cathedral, as was also his sister Frydeswitha, the mother of the holy patroness of Oxford, who bore the same name. (1) Cuthred next mounted the throne, a prince of great martial talents, of the whole of which he stood in need, having fierce wars to maintain with the Britons, again struggling for their liberty; (2) with his own brave general Edilhun, (3) who rebelled against him; but chiefly with Ethelbald, the powerful king of Mercia, against whom he often contended with doubtful success. (4) At length, in the thirteenth year of his reign, both kings making the greatest efforts, Ethelbald to retain his superiority, Cuthred to disengage himself and his people from subjection, these brought on the battle of Burford; when Cuthred experienced the advantage of that clemency which he had heretofore shewn to the valiant Edilhun, after he had vanquished him. For whilst the Mercians, confident in their numbers, (5) and their past success, sorely pressed the West Saxons; and their king himself, with his huge sword, mowed down whole ranks before him; (6) Edilhun alone seemed a host on the side of Cuthred, hewing the limbs and smashing the bones of as many as came within the reach of his ponderous battle axe. (7) At length these rival heroes found themselves engaged together in a personal combat, (8) in which both of them exerted their utmost strength and valour, and the advantage seemed for a long time doubtful; but a panic suddenly seizing Ethelbald, he fled, and was followed by his army. This victory is the more important and deserving of relation, as by it the foundation was laid for the subsequent greatness of our kingdom and city. (9)

Cuthred died in 574, (10) and was buried, like his predecessors, in our cathedral, (11) leaving his throne to one of a character diametrically opposite to his own; for Sigebert is recorded as having been a tyrant towards

(1) Rudborne, l. II, c. IV. (2) Hen. Hunt. Will. Malm.
(3) Iidem. Chron. Sax. (4) Will. Malm. De Reg. l. II.
(5) Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. IV. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid. (8) Ibid. (9) Ibid.
(10) Chron. Sax. (11) Rudborne.

his subjects, and a coward towards his enemies. (1) Hence the several counties which composed the West Saxon kingdom, by common consent, shook off his yoke; with the exception of this city and the surrounding county of Hampshire, which, together with a few faithful friends, particularly one, of the name of Cumbra, still acknowledged his sovereignty. (2) At length, however, having killed this trusty adherent, for advising him too freely, (3) he was forced to fly to the woods of Sussex for his personal security, where he was, in revenge, murdered by a servant of the injured Cumbra. (4) His breathless body, however, was not denied the usual honours; and was therefore brought to the royal mausoleum, at Winchester, for interment. (5)

Kynewulph, a youth of great expectations, and of the blood royal, was the person chosen to succeed Sigebert. (6) He governed his kingdom, for the space of thirty-one years, with a great character, both for public and for private virtue; when, yielding to his passions, on one particular occasion, he laid himself open to the malice of his enemy, Kyenard, brother to the late king. Kyenard had been driven by him into exile, but had privately returned, and then lay lurking in the woods near this city, (8) with a few desperate followers, waiting for an opportunity of revenge. This he found in the unguarded moment of an unlawful amour, in which the king was indulging at the neighbouring village of Merden. (9) The latter being unaccustomed to fly, defended himself bravely, with the

(1) "Vir apud suos, sævitia immanis, idemque, foris, ignavia perinfamis." Will. Malm. De Reg. l. 1, c. 11.

(2) Chron. Sax. an. 755.

(3) Will. Malm. Hen. Hunt.

(4) Iidem.

(5) Rudborne.

(6) Hen. Hunt.

(7) "Cum 31 annos, nec ignave nec immodeste, regnasset." Will. Malm. De Reg. l. 1, c. 11.

(8) Rudborne, l. 11, c.v.

(9) Werantune, Chron. Sax. Werctune, Hen. Hunt.—There are different places in Surry, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, and elsewhere, which have names similar to this; but the arguments which induce us to place the present scene at Merden, near Hurseley, four miles from Winchester, are, that, by comparing together the accounts of Malmsbury, Huntingdon, the

few thanes (1) who attended him, until they were all slaughtered; when he himself being killed, his corpse was brought to Winchester to be buried. (2)

In 784, Briteric, a descendant from the founder of the West Saxon kingdom, came to the throne, (3) to the prejudice of Egbert, whose right to it, notwithstanding, seems preferable to that of Briteric. His talents being more calculated for intrigue than war, (4) he endeavoured to secure the friendship of the king of the Mercians, whose power was still formidable, by marrying his daughter. This was the cause of his untimely end; for being a most proud and unprincipled woman, who could suffer no one to advise the king but herself, she prepared a dose of poison for a favourite minister, of whose influence over her husband she was jealous. It happened that Briteric tasted of the poison, as well as the person for whom it was intended; and thus both of them lost their lives. (5) Contrary to the custom which had obtained at the death of every one of our West Saxon kings, except two who died at Rome, this prince was not interred in our cathedral, but at Wareham, (6) where probably this tragedy had been perpetrated. With respect to Egburga, the unworthy author of it, having gathered together her valuables, she fled over to the continent, where she met with deserved contempt from the new emperor of the west, Charlemagne. (7) Her memory was held in such execration by the thanes of the West Saxon kingdom, that they entered into an unanimous resolution not to permit the wives of their kings in future to

Saxon Chronicle, Matthew of Westminster, and Rudborne, it appears that the Weretune in question, was a retired country place, not far from the city where the king resided, and where he had a considerable military force; which arrived at the spot where the fatal affray took place, before the murderer had time to withdraw himself from it.

(1) Thegnas, Saxonice. Thani, Latine. Chron. Sax. 755.

(2) Will. Malm. Chron. Sax. Rudborne.

(3) Mat. West. says he was the son of the late king. (4) Will. Malm.

(5) Rudborne. Higden. (6) Will. Malm. Rudborne.

(7) Mat. West. Rudborne. Higden. Asserius, Annales, ad. an. 855.—The last quoted author says, that he received these particulars from the mouth of his friend, King Alfred.

enjoy the title of queen, or any other distinction whatsoever belonging to royalty. (1)

We cannot have failed to remark the influence of Christianity upon the manners and condition of our rude ancestors. They had now learnt that there are pleasures far better adapted to the heart of man, than sensuality and revenge; hence they began to lay a restraint upon their passions, which raised them above that brutal state, in which they had hitherto lived, and caused them to observe the moderation of just defence, in regard of their enemies, amidst the very calamities of war. We no longer meet with wars of extermination; and, instead of selling their own children to foreigners, (2) they ceased to hold in servitude even their prisoners of war. Plunder and robbery, both public and private, had constituted their chief occupation and their glory; (3) but now we meet with innumerable instances of their resigning their lawful property, either to assist their fellow creatures, or to cut off from themselves the sources of avarice and worldly solicitude. The same cause which improved their moral character, served also to elevate their minds, and to bestow upon them all the benefits of civilized life. The Gospel introduced the use of letters, and letters introduced every kind of knowledge, classical and scientific. The sons of those men, who knew nothing beyond steering the piratical cuple, (4) or wielding the murderous seare, (5) now became the oracles of sacred and profane literature. Such were our Daniel and Aldhelm, in the south of the island; such were a Wilfrid and Bede, in the northern parts of it. To the same cause we are

(1) Our ancient author, in relating these facts is animated with a becoming indignation against "the perverse and detestable custom," as he calls it, of disgracing a whole sex for the crime of an individual.

(2) "Hujus tempore venales ex Northumbriâ pueri, familiari & pene ingenitâ illi nationi consuetudine." Will. Malm. De Reg. l. 1, c. 111.

(3) Tacit. de Mor. German.

(4) Their gallies so called, whence our keels.

(5) Their crooked swords, from the use of which our ancestors derived the name of Saxons.

indebted for our laws and constitution. Without a Birinus and a Swithun, we should never have known an Alfred. Finally, the same missionaries, who taught our ancestors the worship of the true God, equally instructed them to build stone edifices, supported on arches and pillars, to glaze and to lead their buildings; likewise to carve and to paint, to sing and to perform on musical instruments. It is true, these arts were first introduced for the decorum and splendour of religion, but soon became subservient to the ordinary purposes of life: and thus did our city, which under a Cerdic and a Ceaulin, was no more than a mean group of gloomy huts, begin once more, under a Kenewalk and an Ina, to shine forth as a civilized city of the first rank.

CHAP. VII.

Union of the Heptarchy, by Egbert.—Winchester, its Capital.—History of St. Swithun.—The Piety of King Ethelwolph.—Winchester sacked by the Danes.—Martyrdom of the Cathedral Clergy.—Various Fortune of Alfred.—Re-establishment of the Kingdom and City by the splendid victory of Alfred.—Foundation of the New Minster.—Edward the Elder.—Succession of Bishops.—Glorious Victory of King Athelstan.—Combat of Guy and Colbrand.—State of Winchester under Edmund, Edred, and Edwy.—Misrepresentations of modern Historians.

THE disgrace which Egbert had undergone, in being banished from his native country by the late king, who was jealous of his great talents and popularity, was probably the cause of his future success and exaltation. For repairing, on this occasion, to the imperial court of Aix la Chapelle, he so diligently studied the example of the illustrious Charlemagne, both in the closet and in the field; as to become his rival on this side of the water, when called to the West Saxon crown, on the death of Briteric, in the year 800. (1) His first care was to conciliate his own subjects; (2) and then, by uniting the whole island under one monarchy, to staunch the blood which had so long flowed in different parts of it from the wars of the several kingdoms. His first essay of war was against the ancient Britons, who never failed to embrace any favourable opportunity of attacking the Saxons from their mountains, on both sides of the mouth of the Severn; that is to say, both from Cornwall and from Wales. Of the former

(1) "Annis 3 exulavit cum rege Francorum, nobiliter tamen & egregie." Hen. Hunt. Chron. Sax. Will. Malm. l. II, c. I.

(2) Will. Malm. ibid.

country Egbert made an entire conquest, uniting it with his own kingdom. (1) The latter he laid waste from one end to the other, and reduced its princes to a state of tribute and subjection. (2) He next overcame the Mercian king Beornwulph, on the banks of the Willy, which was long after noted for having then run red with blood, and been choaked with the carcasses of the slain. (3) This battle was fought in the year 824, (4) and was followed by the subjection or the submission of all the kingdoms south of the Humber. Nor was the great and powerful nation, which lay beyond that arm of the sea, and extended to the Frith of Forth, (5) over the most fertile part of Scotland, long behind in owning him for its sovereign. Thus were the fierce struggles for ascendancy, amongst the several branches of the heptarchy, finally suppressed. The West Saxon kingdom became the main stock, in which the rest were engrafted, and its capital city, Winchester, now became the undoubted metropolis of the island; a prerogative, which it had before enjoyed at certain intervals, but which now continued to illustrate it during the space of between four and five centuries. Accordingly, Egbert having resolved to assert his claim to the undivided monarchy of the whole island, in the most public and solemn manner; he assembled the nobles together, from every part of it, in this his chief city, and caused himself to be crowned, in the cathedral church, *King of all England.* (6) In consequence of this solemn act, he published an edict, dated from our city, (7) abolishing all distinctions of Saxons, Jutes, and English, and commanding that all his subjects should in future be

(1) " Eam regionem, quæ Cornubia dicitur, subjugavit eam sibi & suo adjecit regno." Mat. West. ad. an. 809. (2) Idem an. 810. Chron. Sax.

(3) " Unde dicitur Ellendune rivus cruore rubuit, ruina restitit, fætore tabuit." Hen. Hunt.

(4) Hen. Hunt. Mat. West. (5) Camden, Britannia.

(6) " Deinde convocatis proceribus apud Wintoniam, coronatus est rex totius Britanniæ." Ranulph. Higden.—" Egbertus primus totius Angliæ monarcha fuisse dignoscitur. Vir iste insignis Egbertus apud Wyntoniam coronatus est in regem in veteri monasterio." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. III, c. I.

(7) " Ubi (i. e. Wintoniæ) edictum fecit, ut ab illo die omnes Saxones & Jutæ vocarentur Angli, & Britannia Anglia vocaretur." Higden. ibid.

called by the latter name only.(1) This action, of so great importance to the whole island, as well as to this city, appears to have taken place in the year 827.(2) But such is the uncertainty of human affairs, says a sentimental historian,(3) that this great monarch was unable long to enjoy the glory he had acquired amongst his own subjects, in consequence of the disgrace which he received from the insults of foreigners. For now that scourge of God, as they were called, the Danes and Normans, issuing from the same barren regions, which our ancestors had formerly possessed, inflicted as heavy calamities on them and on the French, as these had inflicted, four hundred years before, on the Britons and the Gauls. Egbert was not wanting in his usual vigour and precautions; but the doubtful success which he met with in these his latter wars, served to humble him under the hand of God, and to prepare him for the great change of death, which he met with in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and of the century.(4) He was buried in the chief church of his capital city, where his remains are still honourably preserved.(5)

In one of Egbert's most desperate battles with the Danes, that of Charmouth, he was attended by the bishop of Winchester, Herefrith, and by another bishop, both of whom were slain.(6) The death of the former made place for Edmund, who governed the diocese but a few months,(7) and was immediately succeeded by the Venerable Helinstan, or Helmstan, as

(1) The reason why the name of Angles was preferred to that of Saxons, seems to have been, because it was more distinctive and more honourable; there being at that time a large nation of Saxons on the continent, who were then in disrepute, on account of their manners, and the defeats which they had suffered from Charlemagne. It may be added, that the Angles constituted far the greater part of Egbert's subjects; all the northern, eastern, and midland counties being inhabited by them.

(2) Higden describes this to have happened after the reduction of the Northumbers; which event took place in the year set down above. Chron. Sax.

(3) Will. Malm. De Gest. Reg. l. II, c. I.

(4) Hen. Hunt. Will. Malm.—The Saxon Chronicle makes his reign shorter by a year.

(5) Will. Malm. Rudborne.

(6) Chron. Sax. ad. an. 833.

(7) Godwin, De Pres. Not. Hen. Wharton. Ang. Sac. Not.

he is termed by our native historian. (1) He had been one of the monks, or rather regular canons of the cathedral; and to his care Egbert had committed the education of his son Ethelwolph, (2) who employed in this charge the famous St. Swithun, one of the religious men of that body. It is certain that this prince shewed greater inclinations for the church than for the throne, and that he actually became one of the clergy of our cathedral. It is a mistake, however, of some ancient as well as modern writers, that he became the bishop of this see; (3) for he advanced no farther than the order of subdeaconship. (4) It is not improbable that, upon the death of bishop Helmstan, which happened about the same time with that of Egbert, he might indeed have been elected to the episcopal dignity; but so far from being consecrated to it, he was dispensed with from his former obligation, being called by the voice of the nation, and in some sort obliged to mount the throne. (5) This is the second instance in which we find a clergyman of Winchester raised to the highest pinnacle of worldly greatness.

With respect to the office of bishop, Ethelwolph was resolved that this should be filled by no other person than his tutor and master; for so he was accustomed to call St. Swithun. (6) This saint, whose name afterwards became illustrious throughout the whole kingdom, and particularly at Winchester, was of a noble stock, and a native of this city or its suburbs; (7) where, early in life, he took the religious habit, (8) amongst the regular clergy of the cathedral, and made the greatest proficiency in sacred literature and piety. Being ordained priest, he succeeded Helmstan in the provostship of the cathedral. (9) This he retained until he was ap-

(1) Rudborne. (2) Ibid.

(3) Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. v. Roger Hoveden, Annal. part. i. Sim. Dunelm. &c.

(4) " Patre defuncto, quia alius legitimus hæres non extaret, ex gradu subdiaconi Wintoniensis in regem translatus est concedente Leone 3." Will. Malm. De Pontif. l. ii. Joan. Wallingford in Chron. Ranulph. Higden. ad. an. 836. Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. iii, c. ii.

(5) Iidem. (6) Will. Malm.

(7) " In pago Wintoniensi." Higden.

(8) Capgrave. (9) " Præpositus." Rudborne.

pointed tutor to prince Ethelwolph; at which time he signed himself, in charters still extant, (1) king Egbert's priest. Being raised to the episcopal dignity, which was a subject of universal exultation, (2) he even surpassed the expectations that had been formed of him. He was indefatigable in promoting the good of the whole kingdom, but particularly of this city and diocese; insomuch that a great part of the merit in whatever was well or wisely done by his pupil, was justly ascribed to him. (3) He built a great number of churches, in those parishes, where none before had existed; (4) and either first of all constructed, or, at least rebuilt, the main city bridge. (5) He was, says his biographer, a treasury of virtues; (6) but those, for which he was most distinguished, were his mildness and humility. (7) So great was his aversion to pomp and ostentation, that he was accustomed to go from one part of his diocese to another, when he went to consecrate churches, or perform other duties of his charge, by night; and these journeys he constantly performed on foot. (8) Finally, he carried his affection for humility even beyond the grave; giving orders, in his last sickness, that his body should not be buried with marks of distinction in the cathedral itself, but amongst the common people, in the church yard: (9) where in fact it lay, at the north west end of it, for more than a century; as we shall have occasion afterwards to remark.

Ethelwolph was very far from being gifted with the splendid talents which had raised his father, Egbert, to the monarchy of the island; nevertheless, being possessed of courage, probity, docility, and also of good coun-

(1) Ingulph, Hist. Croyl. (2) Will. Malm. De Pontif. (3) Ibid.

(4) Capgrave, in Vit. St. Swith.

(5) Will. Malm. Capgrave, &c.—The same fact is recorded in the very ancient lives of the saints, in verse, quoted by the Rev. Tho. Warton, Hist. of Eng. Poets. vol. I.

"Seynt Swithan his bischopriche to al goodneſſe drough:
The towne alſo of Wynchestre he amended inough.
For he lette the stronge bruge, without the towne arere,
And fond thereto lym and ston and the workmen that ther were."

(6) Will. Malm. De Pontif.

(7) "Solitariæ sanctitatis amator, nullâ pompâ bona sua prostituebat." Will. Malm. ibid.

(8) Idem. Capgrave. (9) Idem.

sellors, (1) namely, St. Swithun in ecclesiastical matters, and Alstan, bishop of Sherborne, in affairs of state; he deserves to be ranked amongst our most accomplished kings. He was ever ready to face the fierce Danes, either in person or by his generals, in whatever quarter they made their invasion; and though his armies were sometimes defeated, and a few of his cities, particularly Canterbury, Rochester, and London, (2) sacked by them, yet, on the other hand, he gave them so many and such terrible defeats, (3) that, in the end, these pirates, being desirous of an easier prize, began to direct their invasions against the coast of Normandy, which they subdued, and, under the name of Normans, continued to possess. But the act for which the reign of this prince is the most celebrated, was the general establishment of tythes throughout the kingdom; (4) a measure now become indispensable, on account of the increasing number of the clergy: as new parishes were formed, and new churches built, in every part of his dominions, and the entire conversion of his subjects was accomplished. This measure was likewise rendered necessary, from the nature of the duty, which was to be performed by the said clergy. This important act took place in our city, as appears by the charter to this effect, extant in most of our historians. (5) The instrument testifies, that it was subscribed by

(1) Will. Malm. De Reg. l. II, c. II. (2) A.D. 851. Chron. Sax.

(3) One of these defeats took place near Southampton in the year 827. Chron. Sax. But the most terrible of them was that which they suffered at Okely, in Surry; (Aclea Campus Quercuum. Sim. Dunelm) where two of our gravest historians describe ranks of warriors mowed down, like corn in a harvest field, and rivers of blood carrying away, in their course, human heads and limbs in great abundance. Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. v. Roger Hoveden, Annal.

(4) It has been doubted whether the charter in question refers to tythes, but that this is the purport of it, is plain from the learned and intelligent abbot of Croyland, who gives the following account of it:—" Inclytus rex Ethelwulphus omnium prælatorum ac principum suorum, qui sub ipso variis provinciis totius Anglæ præerant, gratuito consensu, tunc primo, cum decimis omnium terrarum ac bonorum aliorum sive catallorum, universam dotaverat ecclesiam Anglicanam.' Ingulphi. Hist.

(5) Mat. West. Ingulph. Rudb. &c.—The last named indeed dates this charter in 844, contrary to the whole current of historians, who say that it was signed after the king returned from Rome, viz. in 854 or 855.

Ethelwolph himself, and by his two vassals, Burred, king of Mercia, and Edmund, king of the East Angles; as also by a great number of nobles, prelates, &c. in the cathedral church at Winchester, before the high altar; and that, being thus signed, it was, by way of greater solemnity, placed by the king upon the altar. (1) Our ancient annalist, having related this transaction, calls upon all the churches of the kingdom to pay due veneration to the cathedral of Winchester, from which the advantage in question was derived to them. (2) Amongst other inferior donations made to the church by Ethelwolph, was a certain sum of money to furnish oil for the lamps, which constantly burnt in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Rome; (3) as likewise a sufficient sum to rebuild the English school, which had been burnt down in that city. (4) We must not, however, forget an event of still greater importance to this city than any of the above-mentioned. It was in the latter end of this reign, viz. in the year 856, that, its trade and commerce flourishing exceedingly, our principal citizens formed themselves, under the royal protection, into a society, called a *guild;* being the first association of this nature, by the space of a whole century, recorded in history. Thus early were the foundations laid of this primitive corporation. (5)

The latter days of this good king were embittered by a more sensible affliction than those of his father had been. His eldest son, Ethelbald, rebelled against him, under pretence that he had violated the laws of the kingdom, in associating his second wife, who was Judith, daughter of the French king, Charles the Bald, with himself in the honours of royalty. (6) The king, however, saw that ambition was the real cause of his son's conduct, and having little of that passion himself, in order to prevent the miseries of a civil war, (7) he quietly resigned to him the greater and better

(1) "In civitate Wentanâ in ecclesiâ S. Petri ante altare capitale. Et tunc pro ampliore firmitate rex Ethelwulphus posuit cartulam super altare." Will. Malm. &c.

(2) Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. III, c. II. (3) Rudborne. (4) Idem. Will. Malm.

(5) Trussel's MSS. (6) Asserius, Annal. Will. Malm. Higd. Rudb.

(7) Mat. West.

part (1) of his dominions; contenting himself with the kingdoms of Kent and Surry, during the two years that he survived this unnatural treatment. He died in 857, and was brought to this cathedral for interment; (2) where his remains are still respectfully preserved, in a chest inscribed with the name of king Adulphus.

The hypocrisy of Ethelbald, in taking up arms against his father, under the pretence of driving Judith back into her native country, now became apparent; as one of his first acts, after the decease of his father, was to contract an incestuous marriage with this very Judith. Here however the eloquence of our St. Swithun, which, aided by the reputation of his sanctity, is described as irresistible, (3) shone forth conspicuously. He induced the young monarch to gain an heroic victory over himself, in dissolving this unnatural connection, and also to repair in a public manner the scandal which he had given by his licentious conduct. (4) Another act of this prince, which he performed at the request of St. Swithun, more immediately relates to this city. Perceiving how much the city, and particularly the cathedral, were exposed to the violence and cruelty of the Pagans, in any sudden invasion, which they might make on this part of the coast; he persuaded Ethelbald to secure the church and cloister by fortifications, (5) part of which still remain. This was a benefit not only to the clergy of the cathedral, but also to the city in general; at a time when there was no other citadel or place of refuge for its inhabitants. The benefit of this work seems to have been soon experienced; for, Ethelbald being now dead, and his next brother, Ethelbert, who had before governed the less valuable provinces to the east,

(1) " Ita ut pars occidentalis melior filio, deterior orientalis patri daretur." Will. Malm. De Reg. l. 1, c. 11.—" Nam occidentalis pars Angliæ semper orientali principalior est." Asser. Annal. an. 855. (2) Will. Malm. Rudborne.

(3) Tanta humilitas erat in B. Swythuno, quod quicquid regibus suadebat, pro salute animarum suarum, sine contradictione assensum præbuerint." Rudb. ex Giraldo, Hist. Maj. l. III, c. III. (4) Ibid.

(5) " Iste Ethelbaldus, instigante St. Swythuno, cænobium vetus munivit contra hostiles Danorum incursus." Ibid.

having succeeded to the chief or western kingdom; (1) the Danes building their hopes on his inexperience, landed a great army at Southampton, and, advancing forward, made themselves masters of our city. (2) Here they committed such horrid and lamentable excesses, as cause our ancient historians to interrupt their narration, in order to shed tears over the destruction of this ancient and royal city, which they compare with that of the famous city of Troy. (3) Nevertheless, many circumstances lead us to believe that the cathedral and the adjoining offices escaped the Pagan fury on this occasion; (4) which preservation can only be accounted for by the existence of the above-mentioned fortifications. The ruthless barbarians, however, paid dear for the calamities which they had brought upon our city; for having collected an immense booty in this place, then the greatest the richest in the kingdom, they were conveying it in haste and confusion to their ships, which seem to have lain at Southampton; when Osric, earl of Hampshire, and Ethelwulph, earl of Berkshire, improving this opportunity, set upon them, in the road, and routed them with great slaughter, recovering, at the same time, all the spoils which they were carrying away. (5) These events took place in the year 860. (6)

The fate of the cathedral, however, as we shall see, was not averted, it was only suspended: for Ethelbert having paid the debt of nature in

(1) See note (1) p. 122. (2) Will. Malm. De Reg, l. II, c. III. Hen. Hunt. Hist. l.v. Chron. Sax. Hen. Hov. Mat. West.

(3) " In diebus ejus (Adelbricht) venit navalis exercitus & egredientes destruxerunt Wincestre, et sic :

" *Urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos.*" Virg.

Hen. Hunt. Hist. l.v. Idem, Rog. Hoveden, Annal. part I.

(4) 1st. None of the Historians, in describing the calamity of Winchester, make mention of any particular misfortune that befel the clergy at this time. 2dly. The Danes do not seem to have had time to reduce the fortifications of the cathedral, the king's forces being in full march towards them. 3dly. The massacre in our city, of which we shall have to speak, is expressly stated to have happened after the battle of Escesdune, in 871.

(5) Asser. An. Chron. Sax. Will. Malm. &c.

(6) Idem.—Mat. West. places this disaster in 861.

866, (1) and the third brother, Etheldred, having succeeded to the throne, the Danes, that year, became more powerful than ever; partly by means of fresh forces from abroad, (2) and partly through the encouragement and assistance which they received from the Mercians and the Northumbers, (3) who still looked, with a jealous eye, on the superiority of the West Saxons. (4) Thus, in all times, have there been found men ready to plunge themselves and their country into the abyss of public misery, in order to distress the government, when they were displeased with it. Never was more ardent and persevering courage displayed, tempered with the purest patriotism and religion, than by the heroic brothers, Ethelbert and Alfred; who, in one single year, 871, and not far from this city, fought nine pitched battles with those desperate invaders, besides skirmishes beyond computation. In one of these battles, in which the piety of the king was no less conspicuous than his courage; (5) one of the two Danish kings, and the greater part of their generals were killed. Nevertheless, being reinforced by fresh numbers of their countrymen, and having the rest of the kingdom either for their subjects or their allies, (6) they proved too strong

(1) Chron. Sax. Mat. West. (2) Chron. Sax.

(3) " Interim reges Merciorum et Northanimbrorum, captatâ occasione adventûs Danorum, à servitio West Saxonum respirantes dominationem suam pene asseruerant..Ita dum unusquis que maluit vindicare quam prævenire injuriam socordiâ suâ exanguem reddiderunt patriam." Will. Malm. De Reg. l. II, c. IV. (4) Ibid.

(5) This was the battle of Escesdune. Etheldred was hearing mass in his tent when the Danes began the combat, and however urgent was the occasion, refused to quit his oratory until the mass was concluded. See Mat. West. ad an. 871. Ranulp, Higden, &c.—In fixing the scene of this victory, it is surprising that our topographers should have overlooked the large village of Assingdon, near Henley, where the ancient family of the Stonors have been long seated; which, from its name, appearance, and situation, (with respect to Englefield, Reading, Basing, and Merton, the places of the other battles, which were fought within a few days of each other), is more likely to be the spot sought after than any other that has yet been mentioned.

(6) The kingdoms of Kent, of the East Saxons, and of the East Angles, were then absolutely subject to them; those of Mercia and of Northumberland had entered into an alliance with them.

for our brave West Saxons alone, though commanded by an Ethelbert and an Alfred. The first of these having been mortally wounded in the battle of Merton, retired to the monastery of Winburn, (1) where he died, and was buried, as his tomb and epitaph there testify; leaving to the latter an inheritance of toil and danger.

It was about this time (2) that the cruel Pagans, no less intolerant in their superstition, than unforgiving in their resentment, having again entered the city, for the sake of plundering it, beset the cathedral on a sudden, and, from a hatred of Christianity, killed all the religious clergy belonging to it; insomuch that not an individual amongst them was spared or escaped. (3) This was now the third time that our city beheld its edifying clergy die martyrs to their religion. Their loss to the remaining inhabitants was great, in proportion to the difficulty there was in repairing it; for almost all the religious communities, whether of monks or of canon regulars, having been equally destroyed by the Danes, it was impossible to replace those of our cathedral with others of the same discipline and institute. In short, there was a necessity of admitting to the ministry such clergy as could be procured for this purpose; who, being unacquainted with the strict discipline of their predecessors, gradually degenerated from their piety, and in conclusion fell into those disorders which ended in their disgrace, as we shall afterwards relate. In the mean time, to St. Swithun had succeeded, in the bishopric, one Alfrith, a prelate of great learning, (4) who is supposed to have been translated to Canterbury. (5) His successor was Dunbert, who dying in in 879, settled certain lands upon his cathedral, for its repairs, (6) of which, after the Danish devastation, it must have stood greatly in need.

(1) A celebrated nunnery, founded by Cuthberga, sister to our West Saxon king Ina. See Will. Malm. De Reg. l. 1, c. 11.

(2) Rudborne places this massacre in 867, but the Breves Annales, quoted by Hen. Wharton, Angl. Sac. vol. 1, p. 206, with more probability, places it in 873. The most plausible date of all, however, is that which he himself assigns, viz. 871.

(3) Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. III, c. v.

(4) Mat. West.

(5) Godwin, De Presul.

(6) Rudb. c. v.

We come now to speak of the miracle of history: a prince, who having been the subject of innumerable pens, has never had a defect imputed to him as a sovereign, or a fault as a man. This was the immortal Alfred. He was the youngest and best beloved son of his father Ethelwolph; who, desirous of giving him the best education possible, committed him, in his very infancy, to the care of his own venerable preceptor, St. Swithun, (1) who was then bishop of this city, and never departed from it, but upon some necessary business, for the benefit of other parts of his diocese. Thus we may confidently say, that this model of kings received, in this our city, those seeds which afterwards yielded such a plentiful harvest of public and private virtues. His sage instructor did not neglect the rudiments of useful literature; (2) but his chief care was to impress upon his tender mind the principles and habits of justice, temperance, activity, constancy, charity, and religion.

It is true, however, that Alfred was not always under the eye of St. Swithun, during the twelve years that this prelate survived the birth of the young prince. He was often at his father's court, (3) and, at the early age of five years, was sent by him to Rome, where he received the sacrament of confirmation from pope Leo IV; who, being charmed with his rising virtues, adopted him for his spiritual son, and also anointed and crowned him as a king. (4) He went a second time to Rome, two years

(1) "Qui Alfredus, in infantilibus agens annis, St. Swythuno Wyntoniensi episcopi traditus erat erudiendus. Nam idem præsul egregius quondam nutritius erat Adulphi patris sui." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. III, c. VI.

(2) Simeon Dunelm, Mat. West. and Higden report that Alfred continued *illiterate*, until he was twelve years of age; but this term does not imply that he was incapable of reading as some have supposed, but only that he had not then applied to the higher branches of literature. With respect to the story of his mother's giving him a book, at that age, to encourage him to learn it, there must be a mistake as to the time set down; for his mother was dead before he had completed his sixth year.—Rievallis, de Genealog. Reg. Ang. expressly says: "Hic ab ipsâ penè infantiâ suâ legere & discere dulce habuit."

(3) Will. Malm. De Reg. l. II, c. II. Mat. West. Higden.

(4) "Quo tempore D. Leo IV. infantem Alfredum confirmavit, & in filium adoptionis sibimet accepit, & etiam unctum oleo consecravit in regem. Asser. Annal. an. 853. Will.

afterwards, with his father, (1) and, in the course of his travels, became acquainted with many persons of great talents and merit, who were afterwards of great service to him. Far from being elated with the flattering distinction which he had received in his early years, he served his brothers, in their wars, with the same zeal and activity, in quality of their general, as if he had been fighting his own battles. Even upon the death of Ethelred, he was not in haste to assume the crown, but calling together the West Saxon nobility, laid before them the will of his father, by which it was ordained, that the crown should descend to him, in case of the death of his brothers; at the same time assuring the gemot or assembly that he was ready to forego his claim, if, in their judgment, the title of any other person were better than his own. (2) In short, he was elected with universal and unbounded applause, and crowned, as his father and grandfather had been before him, in this his metropolis, (3) by the diocesan bishop, who appears to have been Dunbert. No sooner had he received the royal charge, than he set about fulfilling the duties of it; collecting a fresh army, with which, in the course of a month after his coronation, he engaged the Danes, who had advanced as far as Wilton to meet him. The battle continued almost the whole day, and the English at last drove their

Malm. De Reg. l. II, c. II. Mat. West. &c.—Some moderns have denied this history, on account of the improbability of Leo's crowning a child, who had three legitimate elder brothers living; whilst others suppose it was done in a prophetic spirit, by way of presage. The difficulty will vanish when we reflect that the pope did not pretend to confer any real authority upon him, but only to anticipate that august ceremony; so as to render the same unnecessary, when, by the gift of his father, or the laws of succession, he should receive territories to govern.—Our modern historians also assert that this is the first instance of anointing royal personages of this island, and upon this assertion they build the most ill-natured theories. See Carte, Hist. of Eng. b. IV, Hume, &c. But they have forgotten the following decisive passage in our venerable historian, who was dead long before the age of Alfred:—"Ungebantur reges et non per Deum; & paulò post ab unctoribus trucidabantur." Gildas, Hist. c. XIX.

(1) Asser. an. 855. (2) Testam. Alfredi. apud Spelm.

(3) "Wintoniæ, magno populi cum gaudio & plausu, denuò coronatur." Chron. MSS. de Reg. Ang. apud Spelman, Vit. Alf. p. 19.

enemies off the ground; but pursuing them in too much disorder, they were surrounded and cut off by the superior number of their enemies. (1) Alfred being unable to meet them any longer in the open field, particularly as most, even of the western provinces, entered into a treaty with them at this juncture; (2) was forced to confine himself to desultory attacks. In these he often had great success, both by sea and land, (3) until the year 878, when his situation became so desperate, that he was obliged to disguise himself as a common soldier, and seek for an asylum with a herdsman, in the Isle of Athelney, amidst the fens of Somersetshire. (4) Here various adventures befel him, which, in his better fortune, he took great pleasure in relating. (5) On one occasion he was forced to superintend the baking of some hearth cakes, which having permitted to burn, from inattention, he was severely reproached by the good housewife, that he was ready enough to eat the cakes, though he would not attend to the baking of them. (6) On another, when he and the companions of his distress were possessed but of a single loaf of bread, he was unable to deny the prayer of a poor beggar, who asked an alms of him, but generously divided the loaf with him. (7) At length, being encouraged by the assurances, and also by the success of certain faithful subjects, he resolved to make one bold effort to rescue his country. However, before he planned his grand attack, he issued from his hiding place, disguised as a minstrel, and proceeding to the place where the Danish army lay, reconnoitred it in every part. (8)

(1) Asser. Chron. Sax. Hen. Hunt. Mat. West. (2) Chron. Sax. an. 871.

(3) Ethelwerdi Hist. Chron. Sax. Mat. West. an. 886, 887.

(4) Will. Malm. Mat. West. Asser. (5) Will. Malm.

(6) Asser. Mat. West.

(7) Ingulph. Ranulph. Higden.—The same objection lies against this history, as against one mentioned above; viz. that his mother is named in it, as being still alive. Perhaps, however, during his disguise, he might call the good housewife his mother. One ancient author, Simeon Dunelmensis, relates those circumstances of Alfred's wife, which others attribute to his mother.

(8) Will. Malm. De Reg. l. II, c.IV. Ingulph, Hist. Croyl. Ranulph. Higden.

Thus instructed, he appointed his brave Hampshire men, (1) with his other friends, from the county of Wilts and Somerset, to meet him at Brixton, (2) on the eastern borders of Selwood forest. Here the English standard was once more erected, amidst the joyful acclamations of these his faithful followers; whom having inspired with his own steady and deliberate courage, he led, by secret and cautious marches, (3) against the enemy, who lay negligently encamped at Heddington, not far from Chippenham, where there was a royal palace, then in the possession of the Danish king. (4) The attack was as bravely executed, as it had

(1) " Ibi obviaverunt illi omnes accolæ Hantunensis pagæ, qui non ultra mare propter metum Paganorum navigarunt." Asser. An.

(2) From the name of Egbrichtan, by which Hen. Hunt. Chron. Sax. Sim. Dunelm. and other ancient authors call this place, and by their description of it, " ab orientali parte Sealwudæ," Chron. Sax. &c. the learned are agreed that the village of Brixton, near Warminster, is the place where Alfred erected his standard against the Danes; of course the magnificent tower, which was built by the late Mr. Hoare, on the heights between Bruton and Stourhead, under the name of *Alfred's Tower*, in order to commemorate that important transaction, has been greatly misplaced.

(3) Hume says, that Alfred having met his army at Brixton, " he *instantly* conducted them to Eddington (the field of battle)." This is in direct opposition to the authors, whom he quotes, the first of whom says; " Ibi (ad petram Egbrighti Brixton) castrametati sunt unâ nocte: diluculo sequenti illucesente, rex inde castra commovens, venit ad locum qui dicitur Iglea, & ibi unâ nocte castrametatus est." Asser. An. ad. an. 878.—The same account of Alfred's intermediate stations does the Saxon Chronicle give, which he quotes in the second place, and the other ancient authors.—This Iglea, Gibson (ad calcem Chron. Sax.) places at Clay-hill, in which supposition Alfred's army marched only four miles that day; whilst Carte romantically conducts it, in the same space of time, to Oakley, near Basingstoke, a distance of above fifty miles. The name of the place, *Campus Insularis*, and the course of Alfred's march, evidently point out Leigh or Winsley, distant from Brixton about fifteen miles, as the Iglea in question.

(4) With respect to the field of this famous battle, Ethandune, our most respectable topographers, as Camden, Gibson, Spelman, &c. without hesitation, pronounce that it is Eddington, near Westbury.—But can we imagine that the West Saxons would have assembled within ten or twelve miles of the Danish army, for Eddington is not further than this from Brixton, and have employed two days in making a march of this length, when their object

been wisely planned. The Danish army was not barely defeated; it was annihilated. Those who were not killed on the spot, were in a few days obliged to surrender at discretion, in an adjoining intrenchment, to which they had fled; (1) and our Christian hero, forgetful of all that he and his subjects had suffered from these merciless foes, granted the most favourable terms to king Gunthrum, and those of his army who were willing to become Christians, (2) and was content with obliging the rest, who persevered in their infidelity, to quit the island.

It is not foreign to the history of this city, to dwell on the circumstances accompanying and preceding a battle, which raised it from the lowest state of depression and misery, (3) to its former flourishing con-

was to take their enemy by surprise? Carte, to obviate this objection, very inconsistently removes the scene of action to Yattendon, in Berkshire. It remains that we should fix this celebrated Ethandune at Heddington, not far from Chippenham, a place of great antiquity, as the editor of Camden proves. In this case Alfred's army will have moved about 15 miles to their first encampment, and about 12 the next morning to the field of battle. But what seems to decide this much agitated question, in favour of the proposed conjecture, is a passage hitherto overlooked in the history of Ethelwerd, the near relation of Alfred, in which the Danish army, here defeated, is described to be that of Chippenham. "Interea coaptavit bellum Alfred rex adversus exercitus qui in Cippanhamme fuere, in loco Ethandune." L. IV, c. III.—It is very probable that, at this time, the Danish king resided in the palace which we know to have been at Chippenham, whilst the main body of his army was encamped at Heddington, within six miles of him.

(1) This was either Oldbury, or perhaps Chippenham itself.

(2) It is a malicious falsehood of the infidel Hume, that "Gunthrum and his army were admitted to baptism, without much argument, instruction, or conference." On the contrary, it appears that three weeks were employed in preparing these converts for the sacrament of initiation, and twelve days afterwards in confirming them in their good purposes by further instructions.—The event justified the wisdom of Alfred's conduct, considered in a mere political light. Gunthrum, who, whilst a Pagan, had repeatedly broken his solemn engagements and treaties, after his baptism proved faithful and peaceable in some very trying circumstances.

(3) Many historians speak of the extreme desolation of this part of the country in particular, immediately before the battle of Heddington: "Junctis viribus conglobati omnem West Saxoniam a mari usque ad mare depopulantes, & terram illam quasi locustæ operientes.

dition. The other great actions of this unrivalled monarch, whether as a warrior, a legislator, a scholar, or a saint, (1) we are obliged to pass over, in order to confine ourselves to those which more immediately relate to this his metropolis.

Winchester, the seat of government, and the usual place of residence to Alfred's ancestors, as a learned writer of the last century observes; (2) had, at the time we are speaking of, been almost reduced to a heap of ruins, and a solitude, by the destroying Danes. (3) Its clergy were all murdered, and its other inhabitants were mostly fled into France or Wales. (4) But Alfred, upon this turn of affairs in his favour, soon restored it to its original state and dignity. (5) It again became the seat of government; (6) for here the public records were kept, as is particularly noticed, with respect to the *Codex Wintoniensis*, or general survey of the kingdom, which was now made for the first time, and, by Alfred's appointment, deposited in this city. (7) In like manner the chief court

In hoc quoque persecutionis turbine constituti fideles Christi episcopi, cum sanctorum reliquiis, & ecclesiarum thesauris, populisque regionum, trans mare fugerunt, & pars regem Ælfredum secuta in silvis locisque desertis, in illo se mortis discrimine, absconderunt." Mat. West. ad. an. 878.

(1) A learned writer, speaking of this greatest of kings, thus exclaims—" O Alfred, the wonder and astonishment of all ages! If we reflect on his piety and religion, it would seem that he had always lived in a cloister: if on his warlike exploits, that he had never been out of camps: if on his learning and writings, that he had spent his whole life in a college: if on his wholesome laws and wise administration, that these had been his whole study and employment." Hen. Spelman, Concil. Britan.

(2) " Wintonia cum per aliquot retro secula regum West Saxoniæ sedes & palatium fuisset." Ælfred. Magn. Vita, a Joan. Spelman. p. 128.

(3) Ibid. See note (8) p. 69. (4) Hen. Hunt.

(5) Cl. Spelman, Vit. Alf. p. 182.

(6) Alfred had different palaces at Chippenham and Wilton, in Wiltshire; at Aurle, in Somersetshire; and at Dean, in Hampshire. Still Winchester was the place where he usually resided, as Spelman shews, p. 132. The above-mentioned Dean appears to have been Bramdean, not far from this city; since Asserius, who visited Alfred there, returned to Wales through Winchester, where he remained sick above a twelvemonth.

(7) Ingulph. Hist. Croyl. Cl. Spelman, Vit. Alf. p. 82.

of justice was held at Winchester. This appears in the case of the crews of certain Danish ships, who having again invaded this kingdom, contrary to their oaths given at Heddington, and fallen into the hands of the English, were brought hither to be tried and executed. (1) Hence we find Winchester still honoured, by contemporary writers, with the title of *Royal City*. (2) In short, this illustrious king being resolved to build a monastery, in favour of his friend St. Grimbald, (3) whom he was desirous of retaining in England, after he had quitted the school of divinity, instituted by him at Oxford; and at the same time, to provide a place of burial and royal chantry for himself and his family, chose this his metropolis for the situation of his intended foundation: and accordingly began, on the north side of the Ealden Mynstre, or cathedral church, the erection of the Newan Mynstre, as it was called; the same that was afterwards transferred to Hyde-meadow. As this was the principal of all the four monasteries which Alfred built, (4) and as he was renowned for having

(1) Homines ducti fuerunt ad Wintoniam ad regem, qui eos ibi suspendi jussit." Chron. Sax. Mat. West. ad. an. 897.

(2) Apud Wintoniam civitatem regalem decenter & regali honore est sepultus (Alfredus)." Asser. An.

(3) " Iste fecit in Wintoniâ novum monasterium, quod S. Grimbaldo dedit, ut eum retineret in Anglia." An. Win.—He had become acquainted with this learned man at St. Bertin's monastery, of which he was a monk, in his journey to Rome. *Will. Malm. De Reg.* Being desirous of procuring him, for his university of Oxford, which, by the advice of St. Neot, he was resolved to institute, he was under the necessity of securing the interest and authority of Fulco, archbishop of Rheims, for this purpose; to whom, in return, he sent a present of English mastiffs, to destroy the wolves, that laid waste the plains of Champaigne. St. Grimbald being arrived, was appointed in addition to his office at Oxford, the king's particular chaplain or mass priest. Grimbolde minum mæſſe preoſt. Præf. Traduct. Past. S. Greg. Alfr. Vit. Alf. Appen. p. 194.) Having resigned the former employment in his old age, he was desirous of returning to his monastery abroad; but was induced to stay at Winchester, by the promise of Alfred, that he would build for him a monastery there, in which he died most holily in 904, Annal. de Hyde, quoted by Cressy.

(4) Vit. Ælf. p. 132.—The other monasteries were Athelney, in which he had concealed himself; Shaftesbury, where his daughter Athalgive became a nun; and St. Mary's abbey, in this city.

introduced a more noble style of architecture into this country, than had hitherto prevailed, (1) we cannot doubt that the abbey in question was a great ornament to this city, and, in its time, one of the most magnificent edifices in the kingdom. We are the more induced to believe this, as the ground for raising this building was purchased at a mark for every foot of land, (2) a price which in those days was thought enormous. This religious monarch also assisted his queen in building another monastery in this city for persons of her sex, called the abbey of St. Mary, or the Munna Mynstre, (3) which she intended for the place of her retreat, in case she should survive her royal consort.

The good king Alfred, as he is emphatically called, (4) died in 901, (5) and was buried in a monument, erected for him, of porphyry marble, in the cathedral church (6) until his own church of the New Abbey could be completed and dedicated.

King Alfred had a son, called Edmund, whom he caused to be crowned during his own life time; (7) but he died before his father, (8) and was buried in our cathedral. Thus the right of succession devolved upon his second son, Edward, who, for distinction sake, was afterwards sirnamed the Elder. One of his first concerns, on coming to the crown, was to complete the monastery of St. Grimbald, the destined mausoleum of his father; which being finished, he endowed it with lands at Micheldever, Hyde, and other places, for "supplying the refectory of the religious brethren there." (9) It was the intention of the founder to place

(1) Asser. Ann.—This monastery is noted for the magnificence of its fabric in the Annales de Hyde.

(2) Will. Malm. de Reg. Rudb. Hist. Maj. (3) Will. Malm. De Pont. l. II.

(4) "De Alfredo bono." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. III, c. VI.

(5) Chron. Sax. Will. Malm. &c.—Asserius places his decease in 900.

(6) Asser. Annal.

(7) See his grave-stone in the cathedral, inscribed with an account of these particulars, one of the most ancient of its kind extant, and the chest, where his bones are deposited, in the same church, inscribed in like manner; also Rudb. Hist. Maj.

(8) Ibid. (9) Annal. de Hyde, apud Cressy, b. XXX, c. VI

monks in this abbey, (1) as he had done in his other monastery of Athelney. Indeed, without such a proposal on his part, it does not seem probable that the holy monk Grimbald could have been prevailed upon to relinquish his resolution of returning to his own monastery of St. Bertin; but the very great difficulty, which a contemporary writer informs us (2) there was then found in procuring monks of the English nation, since the general destruction of our monasteries by the Danes, and the bad consequences which had arisen at Athelney, from a promiscuous assemblage of foreign monks, (3) induced St. Grimbald to admit in their stead, secular priests, but living in community, being mostly persons of noble families. (4) However, he is said to have been so much dissatisfied with this his community, a little before his death, as to resolve upon removing them, and looking out for monks to replace them. (5) The church and monastery being finished, were dedicated by archbishop Plegmund of Canterbury. (6) Hither the remains of king Alfred were translated with royal magnificence, (7) from the Old Minster; the new canons, who had been placed there, readily consenting to part with the body, from a superstitious idea that their church was haunted by Alfred's ghost. (8) King Edward also completed the Nunna Mynstre, or abbey of St. Mary, in this city, to which his mother Eanswitha betook herself, as soon as she became her own mistress, by the death of her husband. (9) She behaved in so exemplary a manner, whilst living in the world, and

(1) Annal. de Hyde, apud Cressy, b. xxx, c. vi. Rudb. Hist. Maj.

(2) Asserius, Vit. Alf. (3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.—One of these appears to have been Ethelwerd, the founder's son, renowned for his learning, who had studied under St. Grimbald, at Oxford, and who seems to have followed him to Winchester, where he died, and was buried in the monastery of that saint.

(5) Ibid. (6) Ibid.—"Post triennium archiepiscopus Plegmund enceniavit in Wintoniâ urbe arduam turrim, quæ tunc noviter fuerat sita, in honore Genitricis Dei Mariæ." Nob. Ethelwerd, l. iv. c. iv.—From this passage we learn that the New Minister had a remarkably high tower.

(7) Asser. Annal. (8) Will. Malm. De Reg. l. ii, c. iv. Rudborne.

(9) Annal. Hyde. Capgrave. Surius.

devoted herself with so much ardour to the exercises of a religious life, after she had embraced this state, that, upon her death, which took place in 904, her name was inserted in the calendar of English saints. (1) Her remains were buried in the New Minster; (2) near those of her royal husband, and of her son the learned Ethelwerd. Amongst the daughters of the reigning king was one called Edburga; who having, in her childhood, given an early symptom of her inclinations, by preferring a book of the holy scriptures, a chalice, &c. to rich bracelets and other female ornaments, which were displayed to her view, (3) was permitted by her father to follow her grandmother into the said convent of this city, where she became a model of all Christian virtues, particularly of humility; (4) insomuch that her name also was inserted in the sacred calendar, and she was honoured as the patroness of the abbey in which she had lived. (5)

Edward was not so much taken up with religious concerns, as to neglect the defence of his kingdom and affairs of state. He no sooner ascended the throne with the general applause of the whole kingdom, than he found himself obliged to defend it against an active competitor. This was his cousin german Ethelwold, the degenerate son of the late king Ethelbert; a man of the most daring spirit, and of the most abandoned principles, and therefore universally hated. He contrived, however, to gain possession of Winburn and Christchurch, (6) and entrenched himself in the former of these places, declaring that he would either conquer or die there. (7) He had previously taken out of the convent a

(1) Martyr. Angl. Jul. 20. (2) Annal. de Hyde. Rudborne.

(3) Will. Malm. de Pontif. c. II. (4) Ibid. Capgr. Surius.

(5) Catal. Monast. Regn. Hen. VIII. apud Speed and Harpsfield.—Besides the above-mentioned, king Edward had another daughter, Edfleda, who became a nun, and in whose favour he built the abbey of Rumsey, which seems to have given a beginning to the adjoining town of that name. Amongst his sons, one bore the name of Alfred, who dying before his father, was buried in the New Minster.

(6) Winburnham aet Tweoneam. Chron. Sax. an. 901.—The latter place is Twynhamburn, so called from its situation between the rivers Stour and Avon.

(7) Chron. Sax. Mat. West.

professed nun, with whom he cohabited. (1) But Edward advancing against him, and having possessed himself of the adjoining entrenchments of Badbury, (2) Ethelwold withdrew himself from his followers and his mistress; and hastening into the north, was base enough to enter into a treaty with the Danes, who were situated there in great numbers. These elected him for their king, (3) and, under his command, began again their former ravages. The consequences, however, in the end, were fatal to both parties; Ethelwold was killed in battle, and the Danes were repeatedly routed with prodigious slaughter. (4) On one of these occasions, the English king being in the north, received the submission of the king of Scotland. (5) Edward dying in 925, at Faringdon in Berkshire was brought to this city; and buried in the magnificent church of St. Grimbald, which he had erected; about which time his son Ælfward, departing this life at Oxford, was brought to the same place for interment. (6)

We now resume the succession of our bishops. One of the first acts of the great Alfred, upon settling his kingdom, after his most important victory at Heddington, was to name a bishop of Winchester. His choice fell upon Denewulphus, concerning whom ancient writers relate, as a report, but not as a certain fact, (7) a most extraordinary circumstance, namely, that he was the very herdsman, in whose cottage, in the isle of Athelney, the king had been concealed. Finding him a man of extraordinary parts, he set him to study, and, his wife dying in the interim, as Godwin conjectures, (8) Alfred raised him, in the short interval of a

(1) Will. Malm. (2) Baddenbyrig, juxta Winburnham, now called Badbury Rings.

(3) Chron. Sax. Will. Malm. (4) Iidem.

(5) An. 924.—"Tum autem eum (Edwardum) elegit in patrem & dominum Scotorum rex, omnis item Scotorum gens." Chron. Sax.

(6) Chron. Sax.

(7) "Si famæ creditur. Will. Malm.—"Ut fama refert." Mat. West.

(8) Godwin, De Presul. Denewulph.—The conjecture is founded upon the canonical laws and discipline of the times; there not being a single instance of a married bishop in this island, between the second and the sixteenth century.

year, to this high ecclesiastical station. (1) But whoever Denewulph originally was, he justified, by his conduct, Alfred's opinion concerning him, proving himself an active prelate and an able counsellor of the state; for he was one of the king's chief advisers, (2) and was appointed by him to the important post of governor of this city. (3) Upon the death of Denewulph, this see, as well as the neighbouring see of Sherborn, which lost its bishop about the same time, is said to have remained vacant the space of seven years, (4) until the pope, offended at this irregularity, threatened the king with the sentence of excommunication, unless bishops were appointed to them. (5) Upon this a grand synod of bishops, abbots, and other dignified persons, was held, at which the archbishop, Plegmund, presided, (6) when it appearing advantageous to the cause of religion to increase the number of bishoprics in the west, this measure was accordingly adopted. The diocese of Winchester was left to its former limits, (7) but the see of Sherborn, which had been originally taken out of it, was divided into four sees, whereof one was appointed still to continue at Sherborn, with jurisdiction over the three counties of Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire. (8) A second see was fixed at Wells, for Somersetshire; a third at Crediton, for Devonshire; and the fourth at Bodmin, for Cornwall. (9) To our see was appointed, at the recommendation of the great Turketul, to whom it had first been offered, (10) a person of great learning and piety, (11) by name Frithstan, who had been a scholar of St. Grimbald, and

(1) He was consecrated the year after the battle of Heddington, viz. in 879. Mat. West.
(2) Spelm. Vit. Alf. p. 102 (3) Mat. West. ad. an. 897.
(4) There are some chronological difficulties concerning the vacancy in question, which are discussed at length by Hen. Warton, Ang. Sac. vol. 1, p. 209, but the fact itself, and the remarkable circumstance of seven bishops being consecrated by Plegmund at the same time, are so positively affirmed by Will. Malm. De Reg. and De Pontif. Mat. West. Ranulph, Higden, Rudborne, and others, that they cannot consistently be called in question.
(5) Will. Malm. De Reg. (6) Mat. West.
(7) Ibid.
(8) Will. Malm. De Pontif. l. II. (9) Mat. West.
(10) Ingulphus, Hist. Croyland. (11) Gul. Malm.

one of the regular canons of his monastery in this city. (1) He was consecrated at Canterbury with the bishops of the above-mentioned sees, and two others, one of whom had been appointed, in the aforesaid synod, to Dorchester, in Oxfordshire; the other to Selsey, in Sussex. Our bishop having filled the episcopal chair, in a most edifying manner, twenty-two years, resigned it, in order to give himself up, at the close of his life, entirely to contemplation and devotion. (2) In fact he died the year after this resignation, namely, in 932, and his name is inserted amongst the saints of this cathedral.

St. Frithstan had previously consecrated bishop, in his place, St. Brinstan, a prelate, who is still more renowned for sanctity, and who, like his predecessor, had been instructed by St. Grimbald, and had been a religious in the New Minster. (3) He excelled chiefly in the virtue of charity, employing a considerable space of time, every day, in relieving the wants of the poor, and in serving them, with his own hands, in the most humble manner. (4) There is reason to believe that he founded an hospital in this city, which being destroyed by the Danes, was afterwards re-established by Richard Devenish, (5) and forms now the city chambers. He also spent many hours of the day in prayer, and was accustomed to walk round the church-yards, within and without the city walls, praying for the dead. (6) On a certain occasion, having retired to his oratory, he continued there the whole day. The ensuing day, his servants entering into his chamber, found that he had yielded up his spirit in this holy exercise. (7) St. Brinstan governed the see not three years, and by his death, which happened on the feast of All Saints, in the year 934, (8) made place for

(1) Rudborne, Hist. Maj. l. III, c. VII.

(2) Idem. Chron. Sax.—" Frithstanus Wintoniensis episcopus, ordinato pro se Brinstano, viro religioso, in urbe Wintoniensi pauperum vitam transegit." Mat. West. an. 932.

(3) Rudb. (4) Will. Malm. De Pontif. Rudb. Hist. Maj.

(5) The ground of this conjecture, which is borrowed from Leland, will be stated in our second part. (6) Will. Malm. De Pontif. Rudb. Hist. Maj.

(7) Iidem. (8) Chron. Sax.

another prelate of this see, whose name also stands on the sacred calendar. This was St. Elphege I, sirnamed the Bald, who had been a monk of the famous abbey of Glassenbury, (1) and was uncle to the celebrated St. Dunstan, whom, with our future bishop Ethelwold, he raised to the order of priesthood in this cathedral. He is described by our ancient historians, as not only excelling in Christian virtues of every kind, but also as possessing a prophetical foresight, some remarkable instances of which they relate. (2) At his death he left his lands to certain churches and monasteries in Winchester, with the obligation of paying annuities to some of his relations. (3)

Hitherto this city had the happiness of seeing, in her episcopal chair, men who did honour to their sacred character; but now, upon the refusal of St. Dunstan, then abbot of Glassenbury, to accept of the see, (4) it fell a prey to Elsinus, a man of royal blood and great learning, (5) but who proved himself to be unworthy of ecclesiastical dignities, by the ambition with which he pursued them. Not content with the rich and honourable bishopric of Winchester, he aspired to the metropolitical dignity of Canterbury, and, by unworthy artifices, succeeded in getting himself elected to it; (6) but being impatient to procure the papal confirmation and pall, (7) he hastened to Rome in the most unseasonable weather; when, in crossing the Alps, he experienced such intense cold, as induced him to cause the bodies of the horses on which he and his companions rode, to be cut open, in order to preserve his own vital heat, by plunging his feet into them. (8) But this expedient failing, he died amidst the snow, and his

(1) Rudb. l. III, c. VIII.

(2) Will. Malm. De Pontif. l. II. Rudborne, Capgrave, Surius, &c.

(3) Ann. Wint. apud Cressy.

(4) Osborne, Vit. S. Duns. Ang. Sac. vol. II. Mat. West. (5) Rudb.

(6) Will. Malm. De Pontif. Osbern in Vit. Odonis. Ang. Sac. vol. II.

(7) In these ages the suffragan bishops received their confirmation, or authority to exercise spiritual jurisdiction, from the metropolitan; but the metropolitan himself was always confirmed by the pope: in token of which he received what is called the pallium, which is still quartered in the arms of the see of Canterbury. (8) Will. Malm. Rudb. &c.

body was brought home to our cathedral for interment. (1) This happened in the year 959. His promotion to Canterbury had made place for Brithelm, in this diocese. (2)

The great Alfred had early discovered the military talents of his grandson Athelstan, and had accordingly invested him with the insignia of a Saxon knight or warrior; which were a red cloak, a belt studded with jewels, and a Saxon sword, inclosed in a sheath of gold. (3) It was not, however, so much under the command of Alfred himself that he studied, with such success, the art of war; as under that of the heroine Elfleda, his aunt, (4) the wife of Ethelred, who held the kingdom of Mercia in vassalage of our West Saxon sovereigns. Of her valour and exploits in war, particularly against the Welsh, our historians speak in terms of rapture. (5) Our young hero had not, however, neglected the study of literature; on the contrary, it appears that he had applied to it under severe masters, (6) and that he had made considerable progress in it. Being thus qualified, it is not extraordinary that his father should have overlooked the defect in his birth, for he was born before King Edward was married to his queen Egwina, (7) and that he should have appointed him his successor in preference to his other sons. (8) The appointment was highly applauded by

(1) Rudb. (2) Will. Malm. Chron. Sax.

(3) Will. Malm. De Reg. l. II, c. VI. (4) Ibid.

(5) Hen. Hunt. Ranulph, Higden, &c.

O Elfleda potens, O terror Virgo virorum,
Victrix nuturæ, nomine digna viri, &c.
Jam nec Cæsarei tantum meruere triumphi;
Cæsare splendidior virgo, virago vale.

Ingulph says of her, "Antiquis Amazonibus præferenda." Hist. Croyl.

(6) This we gather from the spirited verses composed in honour of his coronation, and set down at length by the monk of Malmsbury.

Ad patris edictum, datus in documenta scholarum,
Extimuit rigidos, ferulâ crepitante, magistros.
Et potans avidis doctrinæ mella medullis,
Decurrit teneros, sed non pueriliter annos.

(7) Cressy, Ecc. Hist. brings certain arguments to prove that Edward married her.

(8) Will. Malm.

his subjects in general, both when it was first made known to them, and afterwards, when he was crowned and anointed king, with circumstances of magnificence and splendid rejoicings, hitherto unknown. (1) Still, however, certain individuals of high rank could not look upon his elevation without jealousy and indignation; and therefore formed a conspiracy, in our city of Winchester, for seizing upon his person and putting out his eyes, in order to render him incapable of reigning. At the head of this was a certain nobleman of the name of Elfrid; who, at the discovery of the plot, being seized upon, and persisting in denying any knowledge of it, the king refused to take any farther cognizance of the matter, or to punish the traitor, but sent him to Rome, in order to clear himself upon oath, in the presence of the pope. Thither accordingly he repaired; where repeating, before the altar of St. Peter, the oath which he had before taken in this city, concerning his innocence of the crime alleged against him, he suddenly fell to the ground in a fit; and being conveyed to his apartments, at the school of the English, he expired the third day afterwards. Having died in this manner, the pope refused to permit his body to have Christian burial, until he had consulted the English monarch on the subject; who, being moved by the tears of his relations, consented that it should be interred in holy ground. (2) It is to be lamented thas this illus-

(1) The crown that was placed upon his head was not such an one as our kings had hitherto worn, but a diadem, as it is called. Galfrid, Monumet. Chron. Wallingford.—With respect to the rejoicings on this occasion, we think it will not be unacceptable to the reader if we subjoin the following description of them, extracted from the poem above quoted, as having considerable merit in itself, and as tending to illustrate the manners of the times:—

Fervet & exundat regali regia luxu,
Spumat ubique merum, fremit ingens aula tumultu.
Discurrunt pueri, celerant injuncta ministri.
Deliciis ventres, cumulantur carmine mentes.
Ille strepit cytherâ, decertat plausibus iste.
In commune sonat, tibi laus, tibi gloria Christe.

(2) See all these particulars recounted by Athelstan himself, in his charter to the abbey of Malmsbury. Will. Malm. De Reg. l. II, c. VI.

trious king, did not shew equal mercy, or even common justice, to his brother Edwin. This prince, being also accused of conspiring against him, was, by his command, embarked on board a vessel, with only one person, his armour bearer, to manage it. (1) The royal youth, after struggling some time with the boisterous elements, gave up his sails and ship to their fury, and plunged into the waves. His attendant, more patient and laborious, reached the opposite coast of France, and even conveyed the body of his master, which he had recovered, along with him. (2) The king, struck with remorse at the tragical conclusion of this adventure, condemned himself to a seven years penance, (3) in expiation of it; and with the same view founded the noble abbey of Middleton or Milton, in the adjoining county of Dorset. (4)

No English king, at any succeeding period, has enjoyed a more extensive power within the island, or has been more courted by foreign princes, than Athelstan. To acquire and preserve the former, however, he was obliged to maintain many severe combats with the Western Britons, on whom he imposed a heavy annual tribute; (5) and with the different northern nations, consisting of Britons, Danes, Picts, and Scots. In the course of the war he carried his victorious arms to the utmost extremity of Scotland. (6) After this, being satisfied with receiving the submission

(1) It does not appear to have been the intention of Athelstan absolutely to destroy his brother Edwin, though he believed him to be guilty of a design upon his life; and the event shews, that he might have been saved, as his attendant was, if he had not purposely thrown himself into the sea. Will. Malm. De Reg. l. 11, and De Pontif. l. 11.—His affection for his other brothers was remarkably conspicuous.

(2) Will. Malm. De Reg. Mat. West. (3) Iidem.

(4) Will. Malm. De Pontif.

(5) Viz. 20lb. of gold, 300lb. of silver, 25,000 oxen, and as many hawks and hounds as he should have occasion for.

(6) " Deinde maximâ vi hostes subegit, Scotiam usque dum Feoder & Wertermorum, terrestri exercitu vastavit, navali vero usque Catness, depopulatus est; unde, vi compulsus rex Constantius filium suum obsidem, cum dignis muneribus, ei dedit." Rog. Hoveden. Annal. Mat. West. ad. an. 933. Chron. Sax. Sim. Dunelm, &c.—" Colla subdunt Scoti,

and the hostages which they offered him, he returned to the seat of his government in Westsex. (1) The conditions of this peace were not likely to last longer than the conquered party felt themselves under the necessity of observing them. Accordingly Constantine, entering into a close alliance with the Cumbrian and Northumbrian princes, who had been equally subdued with himself, as likewise with the Danes, who were numerous and powerful in Norfolk, and all along the eastern coast of the island; (2) he prepared himself to take a severe revenge for the indignities which he had suffered. But what he chiefly depended upon was the powerful assistance of his son-in-law, Analaf the Dane, who had established his power over a considerable part of Ireland, and over the Orkneys and the Western Islands. He accordingly brought to the assistance of his father-in-law an army of hardy barbarians, collected from almost every part of the north west of Europe. They sailed in a fleet, composed of no less than 615 vessels, and landed at the mouth of the Humber. (3) Not finding Constantine in those parts, as he seems to have expected, he marched into the north, where a junction was no sooner formed between these motly hosts, at Brunanburg, on the remote borders of Northumberland, (4) than they found our brave and indefatigable Athelstan, with his brother Edmund, at the head of his West Saxon veterans, ready to oppose them; whilst his chancellor Turketul, (5) led on a chosen

pariterque Picti, uno solidantur Britannidis arva." Nobilis Ethelwerd, l. iv, c. v.—No fact of history is better attested, yet such is the force of national prejudice, that the Scotch writers assert, that Athelstan was conquered and killed in battle by their ancestors. J. Fordun, &c.

(1) Rog. Hoveden. Mat. West. (2) Ingulph. (3) Rog. Hoveden.

(4) Ingulph.—This historian expressly says, that the place of battle was in Northumberland, which passage confirms the opinion of Camden, and overturns all the conjectures of Gibson, in favour of a more southern station. Vide calcem Chron. Sax.

(5) This great statesman and warrior having, with many entreaties and tears, obtained permission of his sovereign to bid adieu to the world, became the restorer of the abbey of Croyland, where all the monks, except a very few, who fled, had suffered martyrdom from the Danes, in the most heroic manner; the affecting history of which Ingulphus has preserved. Of the five venerable brethren, (to which number the survivors were at last reduced),

army of Londoners and Mercians to the same attack. (1) Analaf, not less circumspect than daring, here put in practice the stratagem which Alfred had given an example of, against his countrymen, in order to reconnoitre the English camp; but failed of his principal object, which was to assassinate Athelstan in his tent. Instead of the king, he killed our West Saxon bishop Sherborn, (2) who probably attended as chaplain to the army. The succeeding conflict was so dreadful and bloody, that our ancient historians speak of it in terms of astonishment and substitute the figures and language of poetry for their ordinary, grave, and unornamented narration. (3) Certain it is, that never did the valour of this nation shine forth more conspicuously, and never was a victory more complete. Five princes, amongst whom was the son of the Scottish king, (4) and twelve generals, with a promiscuous multitude, beyond all computation, of Danes, Norwegians, Hebridians, Orkneymen, Irish, Scots, Picts, and Britons, were left dead upon the field of battle. (5)

This account of the military transactions of Athelstan, at a distance from his capital, are not altogether foreign to its history, as it enables the reader to form a proper judgment of a remarkable combat which is said to have

all of whom had passed their hundredth year, and (upon the re-establisment of their monastery, were termed *Sempectæ*, quasi Συμπαικται, from the circumstance of their having boys to attend upon them) brother Brunus had retired to the cathedral monastery of Winchester, and brother Aio to that of Malmsbury. Both of these, however, joyfully returned to Croyland, when chancellor Turketul resolved to become a monk, and to re-establish that monastery. See all these particulars in the perspicuous history which abbot Ingulphus has left us of the monastery of Croyland.

(1) Ingulph.

(2) Will. Malm. Ingulph. Higden.

(3) See the curious poetical description of this battle in Chron. Sax. and Hen. Hunt. which very much resembles, in its style and figures, the poems of Ossian. This was probably a popular song, long familiar to our Saxon ancestors.—Ethelwerd says, " Facta est pugna immanis barbaros contra, unde & vulgo usque ad presens, bellum prænominatur magnum." L. IV, c.V.

(4) Chron. Sax. Hoveden. Dunelm. Rudborne. Higden.

(5) Ingulph. Rog. Hoveden. Hen. Hunt. Mat. West.

taken place, about this time at our city, and which, by local tradition and the report of some historians, is magnified into an incident of the greatest importance; whilst, by other writers, it is rejected into the class of mere fables. We speak of the celebrated duel between the Danish giant, Colbrand, and the English champion, Guy, earl of Warwick. On one hand he will see the improbability that Winchester, flourishing and secure, who sent her sons to engage the Danes in the remote parts of the north, should have been at the same time besieged by them; as likewise that Athelstan, ever vigorous and victorious, should have risked the fate of his kingdom upon the issue of a single combat. Other circumstances also related of this battle are seen to be the inventions or exaggerations of the writers; such as the gigantic stature of the Dane, the pilgrimage of Guy, the vision of Athelstan, and the mode of conducting the combat, which favours much more of the fourteenth than of the tenth century. On the other hand, to reject the ground work of a history, which is founded on so many ancient records, (1) and supported by immemorial tradition, as well as by a great number of monuments still existing, or which existed until of late; (2) savours of absolute scepticism. By taking a middle course we shall avoid improbabilities, and at the same time preserve the credit of historians, and the favourite tale of Winchester.

(1) Hen. Knighton de Eventibus Angliæ, l. 1. He wrote in the reign of Richard II. about the year 1380.—Tho. Rudborne. He wrote about the year 1440.—Their accounts of this duel are now extant; but Harpsfield, who wrote in the reign of queen Elizabeth, quotes, for the truth of this history, authors who lived in the reign of king John, and some even in that of Henry II.

(2) Such as—1st. Athelstan's chair, being a turret so called in the north wall of the city, from which he is said to have been a spectator of the combat.—2dly. A representation of the battle in stone, which Warton tells us, formerly existed in the said wall.—3dly. Two mutilated statues, one of a very tall man, the other of a little man, in the attitude of fighting; said by Butler, in his Lives of Saints, to have existed in the chapel at Guy's Cliff.—4thly. Colbrandis Ax, as it is called by Rudborne, which was preserved in his time in the treasury of the cathedral. Hist. Maj.—There also it was in the reign of James I. as Trussel testifies, and probably continued until the universal pillage in the grand rebellion.

We see that there was an actual invasion of the kingdom in this reign, by a Danish king of the name of Analaf, (1) called by Knighton, Olave, at the head of an immense army. It is not improbable that, upon his landing, he sent a summons to Athelstan, at this his capital city, to submit to him, and to consent to hold his kingdom in vassalage of him; and that his summons was brought by an embassy of daring warriors, amongst whom might be a bravo of uncommon bulk and strength, named Colbrand. Finally, it is very likely that an English hero, who proved to be a Mercian thane, of the name of Guy, and whose residence was at Warwick, was found to repress the insolence of this haughty Dane. Thus, we may venture to say, has a duel of national gallantry been magnified into a combat, on the issue of which the fate of two rival nations was supposed to hang. Having made these observations, we may safely lay before the reader an abstract of the most ancient, as well as circumstantial description that is known to be extant, of the combat in question; leaving him to make such abatements from the circumstances of it, as he shall judge reasonable. (2) It seems necessary,

(1) So named by Rudborne.

(2) *An account of the combat of Guy and Colbrand, abridged from Hen. Knighton.*—King Athelson being informed that Olave, or Analaf, king of the Danes, with a great number of inferior princes and generals, and an army of 50,000 men, had landed in his dominions, assembled together the chief men of his kingdom, in his city of Winchester, in order to consult on the best means of making head against them; but before any thing effectual was done, Analaf had led his army, by hasty marches, to the city, and laid close siege to it, which he carried on during the space of two years, without, however, being able to reduce it. At length the Danish king proposed to leave the decision of the important question, whether the English should be subject to the Danes, or the Danes to the English, to the fortune of a single combat between a champion on his side, one Colbrand, a man of gigantic stature and strength, and any English combatant, whom Athelstan might fix upon, on the other. This proposal reduced the latter to great streights. He was ashamed to own that he had not a Christian hero in his army, who was a match for the Goliah of the Pagans, and yet he did not know where to find such an one; and often in vain sighed for his brave Guy of Warwick, with whose prowess he was well acquainted, but who was then absent, on a pilgrimage to the holy land. In this extremity he was admonished, in a nocturnal vision, to choose for his champion a poor pilgrim, whom he should find the next morning at the

however, to add, that our native historian, being supported by constant tradition and certain monuments, deserves much more credit, in placing the scene of this action in Hyde meadow, called from this circumstance

eastern gate of the city, dressed in a manner that was then made known to him. Being early upon the watch, he accordingly sees a pilgrim who answers the description given, entering into the city from the Portsmouth road. On an attentive survey of him, who should it prove but Guy himself, who had landed the day before at the above-mentioned haven, though greatly emaciated and disfigured by his toils and austerities. It required little persuasion to induce so good a man to resume the arms, which he had laid aside, and to risk his life in defence of his king and country. The challenge, therefore, of the Dane, which had been often repeated, is now accepted of, the day of combat is fixed, as likewise the place of it, which is the vale of Chilcomb, on the south side of St. Giles's hill. Guy, having laid aside his weeds, and recruited his strength, in the course of a few intervening days, appears the same graceful warrior that he had heretofore been, and is furnished with the choicest arms, from the royal armoury in this city. In particular, he is girt with the sword of Constantine the Great, and receives into his hand the spear of Charlemagne; he is also mounted on Athelstan's very best war horse. *(Scandens meliorem dextrarium regis.)* Being thus equipped, he rides to Chilcomb, amidst the vows and prayers of the citizens of Winchester, and of the whole English army; who, with their king, follow, to be the spectators of the important combat. Thither also Colbrand repairs, but so heavily armed, that his horse can hardly support his weight. In addition to the arms which he wore, he is accompanied by a cart, filled with Danish axes, huge iron clubs, and crooks to beat down an enemy, or drag him off his horse. The signal of battle being given, the English champion claps spurs to his charger, and, couching his lance, rushes upon his huge foe; but his spear is shivered to pieces against the massive armour of Colbrand, and the point of it is left sticking in his shield. In return, the enraged Dane, collecting all his might, whirls his ponderous battle axe at Guy, with such force, that falling on the unarmed neck of his horse, it severs the head of the animal clean from its body. Our champion being thus dismounted, the combat is renewed on foot, he making use of his sword and shield, whilst Colbrand wields one of his huge clubs of iron. The advantage, however, is seen to be evidently on the side of the latter, which fills the Danes with exultation, and the English with dismay; for Guy's sword proves to be neither sufficiently long nor weighty to make any great impression upon his adversary, whilst Colbrand's club is, every minute, on the point of crushing Guy, who only saves himself by the interposition of his trusty shield, which he for a long time manages with inimitable dexterity. At length a ponderous blow descending full upon it, the boss is dashed from the handle which alone remains upon the arm of the astonished Guy. The exulting Dane, now pressing forward, again lifts his murderous weapon, and the life of our brave countryman, with the liberties of England,

Danemark, (1) and in arming his Danish champion with a huge battle axe, than does the canon of Leicester, who transfers the combat to the valley, on the other side of St. Giles's-hill, (2) and who makes Colbrand fight chiefly with a mallet or huge club, armed with iron. On the other hand, by way of some support to Knighton's account, we ought to mention that, amongst other curious and noble presents, which Athelstan received from Otho, emperor of Germany, and Hugh Capet, king of France, were a sword, said to have belonged to Constantine the Great, a spear, with which Charlemagne had fought against the Saracens, and a banner, supposed to have been that of St. Maurice's martyred legion. (3)

A proof of the prosperity, and increasing commerce of this city, in the present reign, was the establishment which Athelstan made in it of six mints, for so many different kinds of money. (4) These mints were placed in the centre of the city, where the pent-house at present stands, (5) but which then seems to have formed the site of the royal palace. An argument, on the other hand, that religious literature was

seem inevitably on the point of being destroyed by the impending blow. In this danger, however, the alertness of Guy proves to be of no less service than his valour; for springing aside, he dexterously eludes the massive weapon, which descends with such force as to escape from the hands of Colbrand; and whilst he stoops to recover it, our champion, with equal rapidity and strength, discharges so well directed a stroke of his sword upon his right hand as to cut it clean off. Improving his advantage, Guy is soon enabled to complete his victory, and the triumph of his countrymen, by laying the enormous casque and the bleeding head of the Danish champion at the feet of the English monarch. Hen. Knighton, De Event. Angl. l. 1, p. 2321. Ed. Twysd.

(1) "The Hydemede olim Denemarch appellatus, prope monasterium de Hyda." Thomas Rudborne, Hist. Maj. l. III, c. VIII.

(2) Chilcomb.—This vale is now known by the name of Cobb's farm.

(3) Will. Malm. De Regibus, l. II, c. III. Higden. Rudborne.

(4) Chron. Joan. Brompton. Leges Adelstani. c. XIX.—It must be owned, however, that the natural advantages of London appear to have increased its trade and commerce in a greater proportion, as eight mints were established there. Canterbury had as many; but that was ordained in favour of the archbishop, who had the privilege of coining three kinds of money, and of the abbot of St. Augustine's monastery, who had a right to stamp one kind. (5) Trussel's MSS.

not neglected by this great king, was his care in procuring the scriptures to be translated. King Alfred, Venerable Bede, and other Saxon authors, had laboured in translating parts of that sacred volume, but Athelstan procured a version of the whole to be made. He died in 941, and as he had always entertained a peculiar respect for St. Aldhelm's monastery of Malmsbury, according to what we gather from the charter mentioned above, so he ordered his body to be there interred. (1)

Athelstan died without children, and was succeeded by his brother and fellow in arms, Edmund; a valiant and victorious prince, on every occasion, when he was forced to take the field, yet one, who knowing the value of human blood, was willing to preserve peace by any sacrifices which were consistent with the good of his people. This disposition alone can account for the treaty which he made with the Danish Analaf, who now again invaded this kingdom, and was joined by innumerable hordes of his countrymen, of the northern and eastern counties. Edmund was confident in his own courage, and in the tried bravery of his faithful West Saxons; yet as Analaf now professed himself a Christian, and there was a prospect of his governing his subjects with equity, Edmund, at the persuasion of the archbishops of York and Canterbury, consented to divide his kingdom with him, making Watling-street the boundary of their respective dominions. (2) This treaty, however, was rendered void by the death of Analaf, who expired soon after, in the act of oppression and sacrilege; (3) and the conduct of the Danes or Normans (4) was

(1) The ingenious and learned monk of that monastery testifies, that he was present when the tomb of this king was opened, and, amongst other particulars, he mentions that his yellow locks were found to be braided with wires of gold. Will. Malm. De Reg.

(2) Rog. Hoveden, Annal. Mat. West. ad. an. 940.

(3) "Analafus dum vastaret ecclesiam S. Balteri & Tinningham igne cremaret, mox Dei judicio, correptus, vitam miserabiliter terminavit." Mat. West. ad. an. 941. Rog. Hoveden.

(4) A passage here occurs in one of our most ancient and judicious historians, proving the Danes and Normans to be the same people, which it would be wrong to pass over. "Dacos igitur, qui etiam, eo tempore, Normanni sunt vocati, penitus extirpavit (Edmundus)." Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. v.

such, as to oblige Edmund to treat them with greater rigour than formerly, and no longer to permit their separate principalities. (1) He was not less religious than he was valiant, of which our New Minster, amongst other churches, was an instance, to whose venerable family, as he calls the regular canons, he gave the village of Pevesey, for their further support. (2) He shewed equal regard for the prosperity of the Old Minster, or cathedral. (3) But all these great qualities were lost to his kingdom and to his family, by one hasty action; at a time too, when the latter, in particular, stood most in need of them. His fault, however, was not so great as it is generally represented to have been by historians. He did not at first attempt, in person, to expel from the entertainment the outlaw Leof, who had obtruded himself amongst the royal guests, but gave an order to this effect to his butler. (4) However, when he saw his servant exposed to great personal danger in executing his commands; the conqueror of Brunanburg could not submit to be insulted to his face by a bold intruder, but rushing from the table, seized upon him by the hair, and flung him on the ground. The traitor, in revenge, drawing a private dagger, plunged it into the king's body, and deprived him of life, in the year 946. Edmund having professed a great veneration, both for the abbey of Glassenbury, and for its holy abbot Dunstan, (5) it was thought best to convey his body thither for interment.

The deceased king left two infant sons, incapable of reigning; but there was still living another son of Edward the elder, named Edred, who, by his valour, probity, and piety, proved himself to be worthy of his race. His bravery and firmness were manifested in his successful wars with the Northumbrians and Scots, who, at this period, were found ever

(1) Will. Malm. Mat. West.

(2) Annal. de Hyde, cited by Cressy.—The term of *venerable family* proves that the canons of St. Grimbald's abbey still lived together in community.

(3) Rudb. l. III, c. IX.

(4) " Magnificus rex Edmundus, dum suum dapiferum Leonem e manibus pessimi cleptoris, ne occideretur, vellet erripere, ab eodem interficitur." Rog. Hoveden, Annal. Rudb. l. III, c. IX.

(5) Will. Malm. De Reg. l. II, c. VII.

ready to swear fidelity and allegiance to our victorious West Saxons, and equally ready to violate their oaths, when they could do it with impunity. (1) His piety was proved in his devotion and beneficence to the venerable resting place of his ancestors, and of so many saints, in this city; upon which he bestowed the manors of Downton and Husborn, with a golden cross, and certain images of the same metal. (2) Finding his last hour approaching, he sent in haste for St. Dunstan, to administer the sacraments to him (3); who, however, did not arrive until after the king had expired. He nevertheless testified, that he had been assured, on his journey, by a celestial voice, of the happiness of the pious monarch. (4) His body was interred, by the saint, in our cathedral church, which he had in his life time so much respected, and where his remains are still religiously preserved. (5)

No nation, in any age, can shew so long a succession of great and good kings, as those who swayed the sceptre in this regal city, from Egbert down to Edmund. But the royal dignity suffered an eclipse in the person of Edwy, the elder son of the late king Edmund, who next succeeded to the throne, when not yet 14 years of age. He was a youth of some good qualities, and exquisitely proportioned; (6) but licentious and ungovernable in the extreme. This disposition rendered him a prey to a wicked woman of great beauty and high birth, being nearly related to

(1) "Northanimbros & Scottos facile ad sacramentum suæ fidelitatis adactos & mox fædifragos." Will. Malm. De Reg. l. II, c. VIII.

(2) Rudb. l. III, c. X.

(3) "Cum ægrotare cæpisset, missâ celeri legatione, B. Dunstanum, confessionis gratiâ, accersivit." Mat. West. Rog. Hoveden.

(4) Will. Malm. Rog. Hoveden. Mat. West. Osborn, Rudborne, &c.

(5) In one of the chests over the presbytery.

(6) "Præ nimiâ pulchritudine *pancali* sortitus est nomen." Ethelw. l. IV, c. VIII.—Pancalus, i. e. Πανκαλος, ex omni parte pulcher.—We cannot fail of being surprised at finding the Greek language so much in use amongst our ancestors, in the tenth century, as it appears to have been by the titles and names which they adopted. For example, Edgar, upon his coins, and in his charters, almost always termed himself *Basileus*, instead of Rex. In like manner, the proper appellation for the heir apparant was *Clyto*, quasi Κλυτος, for illustrious, &c.

himself, (1) by name Algiva; who, together with her grown up daughter, inveigled him and corrupted him to such a degree, (2) as to cause him, soon after he had been crowned and anointed king, to leave the coronation feast, and the company of his nobles, for the purpose of giving himself up to their lewd company. (3) This was a general subject of scandal to his numerous subjects, then assembled at the ceremony, and particularly to his noble guests; who, after waiting some time, obliged his tutor, St. Dunstan, (4) and his relation Kinsey, bishop of Litchfield, to go and withdraw the misguided youth from such unworthy company, and conduct him back to their assembly. (5) In fact, both the proposal and the execution of this measure were loyal and friendly to the real interests of Edwy. The consequences however, were fatal, not only to St. Dunstan himself, but also to the whole monastic profession, of which he was the avowed patron; all of whom, together with their servants, at the instigation of the aforesaid women, the enraged youth drove into exile. (6) There is the greater reason for dwelling upon these transactions, as, in their remote consequences, they brought about that remarkable change in the clergy of this city, which we shall have to mention in the following reign. We are not surprized that the continuance of such a conduct, as this inconsiderate prince had given an example of at his coronation,

(1) Proxime cognatam." Will. Malm.

(2) " Huic quædam mulier innupta, licet natione præcelsâ, cum adultâ filiâ per nefandum familiaritatis lenocinium adhærebat, ut sese vel filiam suam, sub conjugali titulo sociaret, quas ille alternatim libidinose tractavit. Mat. West. ad. an. 955.

(3) " In die quâ in regem consecratus est, confestim post regiam unctionem, de mensâ subito prosiluit princeps, & læta reliquit convivia; ut lascivus voluptatem lenocinii vinolentus compleret. Ibid.—" Ipse die quo in regem sacratus fuerat, dum de rebus seriis & regno necessariis inter eos ageretur, è medio, quasi ludibundus, prorupit in triclinium & in complexum ganeæ devolutus. Fremere omnes, &c." Will. Malm. De Reg. l. II. c. VII.

(4) Osbern, in Vit. St. Dunst. Chron. Joan Walling.

(5) " Invenerunt (Dunsianus abbas & Kynesius episcopus) coronam de capite ejus, & eum medium inter duas, matrem Ethelgyvam nomine, & filiam; alternatim eas lascive, &c. Chron. J. Walling. In Vita S. Odonis. In Vit. S. Dunst.

(6) Will. Malm. Osbern. Hist. Ramesiensis.

should have undermined his throne. Within the space of two years, all his subjects, to the north of the river Thames, revolted from him, and chose his brother Edgar for their king; (1) so that, for the remaining two years of his life, the authority of Edwy was confined to this city and the annexed kingdom of the West Saxons. He died in the year 959, (2)

(1) Mat. West.

(2) Chron. Bromp. Rudborne.—It is astonishing to what lengths of misrepresentation and barefaced falsehood the spirit of irreligion frequently carries our modern historians. An instance of it occurs with respect to the history now before us, in which the sense of the original writers referred to, is most shamefully and maliciously perverted, by Carte, Hume, Guthrie, Rapin, &c. For—1st. These writers persist in asserting, that the royal youth was actually married, at the time of his coronation, to one of the ladies whom he was familiar with. Now this is contrary to the testimony of the original writers, as may be gathered from the above quoted passage of Matthew of Westminster, amongst many others that might be brought forward. In support of their assertion, they cite William of Malmsbury, whose words are; "Proxime cognatam invadens, uxorem ejus formæ deperibat;" (De Reg. l. II. c. VII) which means, that he was dying to make her his wife. Hence he never speaks of her afterwards, but under the name of *ganea* and *pellex*, the former of which words Carte, who undertakes to give the original passage itself, as it stands in Malmsbury, renders *queen*, the latter *wife!* Almost every other sentence of the version is equally unfaithful.—2dly. These writers, particularly Hume and Carte, take great pains to represent the conduct of Edwy, as not exceeding the bounds of decorum. To judge of their candour and truth, let their account, with respect to this particular, be compared with the passages of Westminster and Wallingford, cited above; the latter of whom Hume has the confidence to appeal to in his notes.—3dly. Both the above mentioned writers make use of every foul art, both by additions and suppressions, to blacken the character of those good men, whom past ages have viewed with veneration. "Dunstan, (says Hume) conjectured the reason of the king's retreat, and carrying with him Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, over whom he had gained an entire ascendancy, he burst into the apartment, upbraided Edwy, and *probably* bestowed on the queen the most opprobrious epithet."—Will it be believed, without ocular demonstration, that our modern author professes to build this account on the relation of Will. Malm. Osberne, and Mat. West? The passage referred to in the first of these historians has been given above. Let us now attend to what the two latter say; "Subito exiluit (Edwyus) duarum fæminarum eum opperientium infandum consortium expetens. Quæ res considentium mentes magno pudoris mœrore dejecit. Habito autem consilio inter eos, quid facto opus esset, missus est ab archiepiscopo (viz. Odone) & primoribus, venerabilis abbas Dunstanus regem ab illicitis amplexibus abstrahere & ad

before he had attained his eighteenth year, and was interred in the New Minster of this city, to which, in his life time, he had been a benefactor. (1)

regiam sedem inter principes revocare." Osbern, De Vit. S. Odon. Ang. Sac. vol. II, p. 83. —" Pari & communi omnium voto Dunstanus compellitur, qui regem adeat, &c." Idem. Vit. S. Dunst. p. 105.—" Displicuit factum optimatibus & B. abbatem Dunstanum miserunt ad regem reducendum. Qui juxta principum jussa, adjuncto sibi Cynesio episcopo, cognato suo, thalamum ingressus invenerunt coronam regiam in terram negligenter avulsam.... regemque inter utrasque in volutabro voluntantem." Mat. West. ad. an. 955.—In addition to the malice, we cannot but be struck with the supine negligence of the historian, in making Odo accompany Dunstan on this occasion. This writer and Carte, from whom he borrows, are guilty of equal inaccuracy, in confounding the history of the two women in question. We gather from the above quoted passage of Wallingford, that it was the mother, not the daughter, who was called Algiva, but we are left in the dark by original writers, which of them was branded in the face by order of Odo, and afterwards hamstrung, near Gloucester, by the authority of the thanes, then in arms against Edwy. Osbern, Vit. St. Dunst. Ang. Sac. vol. II, p. 106.

(1) Annal. Wint. apud Cressy.

CHAP. VIII.

Accession of Edgar to the Throne.—Laws and Ordinances respecting Winchester.—Life of its Bishop, St. Ethelwold.—The Cathedral rebuilt.—Monks substituted for secular Canons.—Dissertation on the original Institute of the Cathedral Clergy of Winchester.—Ditto on Clerical Celibacy.—Succession of Kings, Edward the Martyr, Ethelred II.—Degeneracy of the Citizens of Winchester.—Slaughter of the Danes, and Hocktide Sports here begun.—The City reduced by the Danes.—Life and Martyrdom of St. Elphege II.—Events relating to Winchester, under Edmund Ironside, Canute the Great, Harold, and Hardicanute.—Edward the Confessor crowned in this City.—Succession of Bishops.—History of Alwyn.—Nature of Ordeals.—Queen Emma passes through the fiery Ordeal in the Cathedral.—Frightful Death of Earl Godwin, at Winchester.—Harold's Partizans in this City.

NOT one of that illustrious line of West Saxon princes, who had hitherto swayed the sceptre, reigned with so much glory as Edgar, the surviving son of the late king Edmund, who was now acknowledged sole king of England, and paramount sovereign of the whole island. The circumstance, however, which threw the brightest rays on this his greatness, was, that it was purchased without a drop of human blood. The fact is, he avoided war, by means of the vast armaments which he had always on foot, both by sea and land, ready to repel it; and his subjects were enabled to support him, in making these exertions, through the advantages of the equitable, wise, and active government, which he supported amongst them. He kept the Danes and other northern rovers at a distance from his coasts,

by a fleet of 3600 stout vessels, which scoured the seas, in three divisions, one on each side of our triangular island. He overawed the Scottish, the Welsh, and the other inferior princes of the island; (1) and by requiring them frequently to attend his court, prevented their combining against him, as they had done against his ancestor Athelstan. On one occasion, he obliged the whole number of them, being eight, to row his royal barge up and down the river Dee, whilst he, in royal pomp, sat at the helm, steering it at his pleasure. (2) The tribute which he imposed upon one of these his vassals, namely, Ludwall, a Welch prince, serves to illustrate, in the highest degree, his wisdom and attention to his people's welfare; and has an immediate relation with this city. Edgar required him to find 300 wolves heads every year, (3) and to deposit them with the bishop of Winchester, at his palace, in our city; which, from this circumstance, has derived the name of *Wolvesey*. (4) The consequence was, that after paying this tribute three years, he was unable to procure any more wolves heads (5) either by hunting in his own territories, which seem to have been hitherto their chief breeding place, or by purchase in any other part of the island. Thus were these destructive animals entirely extirpated, and a foundation was laid for our rich woollen staple. Still more conducive to the welfare and happiness of his subjects, were those journeys which he made every year throughout his dominions, (6) to see that the laws were put in execution, to protect the poor from the oppressions of the rich, (7) and to provide proper remedies for whatever abuses or grievances he could any where discover. Finding the current species greatly debased

(1) Will. Malm. De Gest. Reg. l. II, c. VIII. Rog. Hov. Ann. Sim. Dunelm, &c.—Mat. West. and others make Edgar's fleet consist of 4800 vessels.

(2) These were Kynath, king of Scotland; Malcolm, king of Cumberland; Maccus, king of the Hebrides; and five kings who ruled in different parts of Wales. Will. Malm. Rog. Hov. Sim. Dunelm. Mat. West.

(3) Will. Malm.

(4) Archiv. Ecc. S. Trin. cited by Trussel, MSS.

(5) Will. Malm.

(6) Rog. Hov. ad. an. 975. Mat. West.

(7) Rog. Hov.

and altered, which was partly owing to the great number of mints; he caused a general uniform coinage to be made, (1) which seems to have been executed in this his capital city. Perceiving also that great confusion and frauds arose from the diversity of measures, in different parts of the kingdom, he ordered standard vessels to be made, (2) which he deposited here; and at the same time enacted a law, that the *Winchester Measure*, which is still the name of the standard legal measure, should be observed throughout his whole dominions. (3) The other wise laws, which he made for the equal administration of justice, and particularly for preventing individuals from being oppressed by the imposition of excessive fines and bail; as likewise for the protection of morality and religion; may be seen in our ancient authors. (4) One of his regulations is of a singular nature, and descriptive of the manners of the times. The Danes, who were dispersed all over the kingdom, being addicted to excessive drinking, and infecting the English inhabitants with the same vice, so that it became a subject of contest in the taverns, where they used to assemble, who could drink the deepest out of the common drinking cup, which passed throughout the whole company; Edgar made an ordinance, that certain pegs should be placed, at equal distances, within all such vessels, forbidding any person to drink below his proper peg. (5)

Edgar was chiefly guided, both in his public and private conduct, by

(1) " Sit una moneta per totum regis imperium." Leges Edgari, ap. Bromp. n. XIII.

(2) The original bushel of Edgar is still preserved in our Guildhall.

(3) " Mensura sit, sicut apud Wincestriam habetur." Ibid.—Former historians of Winchester have been unable to trace the Winchester measure higher than the time of queen Elizabeth. See Description of the City, &c. by the Rev. T. Warton, p. 33, also Hist. of Winchester, vol. II, p. 117.

(4) Chron. J. Bromp. Leges Edg. &c.

(5) " In tantum & in frivolis pacis sequax, ut quia compatriotæ, in tabernis convenientes, jamque temulenti pro modo bibendi contenderent; ipse clavos argenteos vel aureos vasi affigi jusserit, &c." Will. Malm.—" Vix in Angliâ viculus in quo Daci cum Anglis non habitarent. Daci a naturâ potatores fortissimi, hoc unum prædicabile perpetuum reliquere Anglis. Quamobrem rex clavos in ciphis fecit infigi, ut per emensos ciphorum terminos biberent ad mensuram." Chron. J. Bromp. p. 869. Ed. Twysd.—See an engraving of one of

the advice of St. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, one of the greatest men of his age; but who has suffered almost as much in his character from the officiousness of his friends, (1) as from the malice of his enemies. Besides being eminent for piety, learning, the sciences which are necessary for governing mankind, he also excelled in the liberal arts, particularly in painting, carving, and music. (2) His greatest praise, however, was to have animated his pupil Edgar, as he had done Edmund and Edred, the father and the uncle of this prince, to promote the security and happiness of his subjects; (3) and at the same time to have helped him to overcome his private vices. For this prelate did not not connive at the incontinency of his friend Edgar, any more than he had countenanced the licentiousness of his enemy Edwy; and it was through his apostolical reproaches and exhortations, that this illustrious monarch, like another David or Theodosius, undertook a voluntary penance of seven years, (4) one part of which was not to wear his crown during all that time. (5) This period being elapsed, he was crowned with great pomp, and the most heartfelt

these cups, which formerly belonged to Glassenbury abbey, with a dissertation on the same by the author. Archæologia, vol. xi.—The cup contains two quarts, and it divided by seven pegs, which allows half a pint to each person's draught.

(1) Osbern, and the other writers of his life, have told ridiculous stories of his supposed contests with the devil. Most readers have laughed at these legends, and have transferred their contempt of them to St. Dunstan himself, without reflecting, that in despising him, they despise, perhaps, the most comprehensive genius, and the greatest and best statesman, whom this nation ever produced.

(2) Osbern, &c.—The instrument, on which he himself played, was the harp; but he gave organs to the monastery of Malmsbury, which, from the description of them, appear to have been of the same construction with those in present use: "Organa ubi per fistulas æreas, musicis mensuris elaboratas, *dudum conceptas follis vomit anxius auras.*" Will. Malm. in Vit. S. Aldhelmi.

(3) St. Dunstan and our St. Ethelwold are called by the judicious historian, Henry of Huntingdon, who was no monk, the *Lorica*, or breast-plate of England. Hist. l. v.

(4) Osbern, in Vit. S. Dunst. Will. Malm.

(5) Iidem.—Hume, who speaks with indignation of the slightnes of this penance, suppresses the other parts of it, viz. his fasting, his care to enact good laws, his transcribing, with his own hand, the sacred scriptures, and distributing them to different churches.

rejoicings of his subjects, at Bath, (1) in the year 973. Three years after this solemnity he died, and was buried in his favourite abbey of Glassenbury.

The ecclesiastical events of this reign, as they regard Winchester, form a more important part of its history than its civil transactions. Brithelm, the successor of Elsinus, having died in 963, St. Ethelwold, the most celebrated of our bishops, after St. Swithun, was appointed to succeed him. Like the last mentioned holy man, he was a native of Winchester, being born of opulent and respectable inhabitants of this city. (2) Here also he performed his studies, and received holy orders, at the hands of St. Elphege the Bald; (3) but afterwards, retiring to Glassenbury, he became a monk and dean of that celebrated monastery, from which he was removed, at the desire of king Edred and his pious mother Elgiva, in order to undertake the work of new founding the monastery of Abingdon. (4) From this situation he was forcibly withdrawn, for the purpose of undertaking the pastoral government of this his native city, which he conducted with equal reputation for sanctity, for learning, for assiduity in preaching the word of God, and for talents in sacred architecture. (5) Besides the churches and monasteries which he built and founded in other parts, as at Ely, Peterborough, (6) and Thorney; (7) he rebuilt his cathedral church in this city, which he lived to finish and dedicate, enriching it with the magnificent shrines of St. Swithun, Birinus, Brinstan, and other saints, (8) whose relicks he solemnly translated. On this occasion he built

(1) Will. Malm. "Apud Ahemanceſtre, quæ latine Bathonia dicitur coronam portavit."—Mat. West. "In veteri civitate Acemanneſceſtre."—Chron. Sax. *Ake-mans* or *sick-mans town*.—This name proves that our Saxon Ancestors were not ignorant or neglectful of the medicinal virtues of the Bath waters.

(2) Will. Malm. De Pontif. l. II. Capgr. in Vit.

(3) Rudb. (4) Will. Malm.

(5) "Nescires quid in eo magis laudares, sanctitatis studium, an doctrinæ exercitium, in prædicatione instantiam, in ædificiis industriam. Will. Malm. De Pont.

(6) Then called Pedeſhamſtede. (7) Rudb.

(8) "Novâ Ecclesiâ, ut diu desideraverat, ædificatâ." Will. Malm. De Pont. Mat. West.—

the crypts, or vaults under the east end of the church, which still remain as he left them. (1) He likewise rebuilt and re-established the abbey of Benedictine nuns, founded by Edward the Elder, in this city; (2) and assisted king Edgar in rebuilding another monastery of the same nature, which gave a beginning to the town of Rumsey, and in which the king chose to bury his son Edmund, who died about this time. (3)

However zealous this prelate was to promote the splendour of religion, he was still more anxious to relieve the wants of the poor. Hence, in the time of a great famine, he sold all the plate of his church, to purchase food for them; saying that the church, if reduced to poverty, might again be enriched, but that if the poor were starved, it was not in the power of man to recall them to life. (4)

Amongst other public works, for the benefit of Winchester, one ought not to be forgotten, the benefit of which is still felt by its inhabitants. Great inconveniences being experienced from the want of water, which then only flowed, in one current, at the eastern end of the city; St. Ethelwold made different canals, one of which begins near the village of Worthy:

" Ecclesiam hanc de novo renovavit, & in honorem apostolorum Petri et Pauli dedicavit, anno primo Ethelredi regis, ipso rege & proceribus præsentibus. A.D. 980. 24 Oct. S. Dunstano ecclesiam dedicante." MS. Wood, ap. Richardson, in Godwini Comment.—To these particulars it must be added, that the cathedral was, conjointly with the said saints, dedicated also to St. Swithun, and that the fame of this our native saint soon caused the church and monastery to be called by his name alone.

(1) " *Insuper occultis studuisti & addere cryptas.*" Wolstan. Ep. ad. S. Elph.

(2) " Construxit Edwardus in eadem urbe sancti-monialium cænobium, sed posterioribus annis per B. Ethelwoldum ampliatus est locus iste, quibus præposuit Edelritham virginem anum." Will. Malm.

(3) " Rex Eadgarus in monasterio Rumeſeige, quod avus suus R. Eadwardus construxerat sanctimoniales congregavit, sanctamque Merwennam in eo abbatissam constituit." Mat. West. Sim. Dunelm.—" An. 971. Decessit Eadmundus clyto, ejusque corpus jacet apud Rumeſige." Chron. Sax. Sim. Dunelm.—Other illustrious personages, belonging to this royal abbey, were St. Elfreda and St. Christina, the latter of whom was sister to St. Margaret, queen of Scotland, and Mary, daughter of king Stephen.

(4) Will. Malm.

and thus distributed the water, at great toil and expence, throughout the greater part of the city. (1)

The most remarkable occurrence, however, of this pontificate, and that which has given rise to much controversy, was the removal of the married secular canons, who then served the cathedral, and the introduction of Benedictine monks in their place. This has been represented by late authors as a measure of the greatest injustice, (2) some of whom go so far as to assert, that the cathedral was originally founded for clergymen of the above-mentioned description. (3) The confidence with which this assertion has been made, and the character of some of those who have made it, have led the public into great mistakes upon this head, which it will require some pains to clear up.

We have spoken of the manner of life observed by the clergy of this church, as well as of other churches, at its first foundation, in the time of Lucius; as likewise of the profession of those who served it, at its second establishment, after the persecution of Dioclesian, down to the Saxon invasion. (5) To confine ourselves then to the third foundation of the cathedral; it is certain, indeed, that St. Augustine and the first apostles of the English nation were Benedictine monks, (6) who founded an abbey of their own order at Canterbury, which served that cathedral; (7) and likewise that all the successors of this saint were of the same religious

(1) "In tantum dilexit urbem Wentanam, quod aquam currentem suo studio & labore, sumptibusque largifluis benignissime introduxit." MS. ibid.—The monk Wolstan, in the epistle quoted above, speaking of the advantage of that part of the river, called the Lock pond, which St. Ethelwold brought into the monastery of St. Swithun, and which still runs through the Close, says:

Hucque
Dulcia piscosæ flumina traxit aquæ.
Secessusque luci penetrant secreta domorum
Mundantes totum murmure cœnobium.

(2) Hume. Hen. Warton. (3) Camden's Britannia, Hampshire. Tanner's Notitia. Hen. Warton, Ang. Sac. vol. 1, p. 323.

(4) See p. 42. (5) See p. 56.

(6) Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. 1, c. XXIII. (7) Idem. c. XXXIII.

institute, down to the very time that we are speaking of. (1) But the case is not so clear with respect to the church of Winchester, at this period. There is reason to doubt that St. Birinus was a monk; certain it is, that he instituted canons, and not monks, to serve his church at Dorchester. This circumstance, however, is not conclusive against the pretensions of the monks, as the cathedral, with the monastery adjoining to it, was founded by king Kenewalch, who was the friend of St. Bennet Biscop, and the zealous protector of the monastic order. In a word, upon an attentive examination of the history of this church, and of the bishops who governed it, from the reign of Kenewalch down to that of Ethelred, the brother of Alfred, we shall find no positive arguments, on either side, for deciding this question. At the above-mentioned period it is agreed, on all hands, that the former clergy being all slaughtered by the Danes, those who succeeded them were not monks, but canons; (2) who kept possession of the church for about one hundred years, down to the period we have been speaking of. But though there is no proof to determine whether the persons in question were monks or canons, yet it is exceedingly plain, that during this whole period, and even until within a few years of the reign of Edgar, they led what is called a regular or conventual life, having all things in common, (3) practising obedience, and, in particular, observing

(1) St. Odo, the contemporary of St. Ethelwold, being chosen to the see of Canterbury, objected to his promotion, because he was not a monk, saying that all the metropolitans had hitherto been of that institute. In the end, he went to the famous abbey of Fleury, in France, and there made his monastic vows, and continued some time; after which he returned and was consecrated. Will. Malm. De Pontif. Osbern, in Vit. Odonis.

(2) Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. III, c. v. Osbern, in Vit. S. Oswaldi.

(3) The first rule which St. Gregory gave to the bishops of this nation, was to form one family with all their clergy, who were in holy orders, and to live in common with them, as the faithful had done in the primitive church of Jerusalem, without any persons having property, of whatever kind, apart. With respect to the inferior clergy, in minor orders, who were employed in singing, keeping the doors, &c. it being free for them to marry, they were to have separate allowances, for supporting their respective families. "*Interrogatio Augustini Episcopi.* De Episcopis, qualiter cum suis clericis conversentur, &c.? *Re-*

continency. (1) Hence their institute, if not that of Benedictine monks, was at least that of regular canons, which only differed from the former

spondit Gregorius Papa. Mos sedis apostolicæ est, ordinatis episcopis, præcepta tradere, ut in omni stipendio, quod accedit, quatuor debeant fieri portiones una viz episcopo & familiæ propter hospitalitatem atque susceptionem, alia clero, tertia pauperibus, quarta ecclesiis reparandis. Sed quia fraternitas tua, monasterii regulis erudita, seorsum vivere non debet a clericis suis in ecclesiâ Anglorum hanc debet conversationem instituere, quæ initio nascentis ecclesiæ fuit patribus nostris, in quibus nullus eorum, ex his quæ possidebant, aliquid suum esse dicebat, sed erant eis omnia communia. Si qui vero sunt clerici, *extra sacros ordines* constituti, qui se continere non possunt, sortiri uxores debent & stipendia sua exterius accipere." Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. II, c. XXVII.—That the canons of the other portion of our church, settled at Dorchester, lived in common at their first foundation, we are assured in the acts of their founder, collected by Capgrave; until, being desirous of more liberty, they, in process of time, became mere secular canons, each one living apart. At length, in the reign of king Stephen, they were brought back to their original institute of regular canons. From the life of St. Swithun, who was dean of this cathedral, (which title and office, it is to be observed, are strictly conventual, as appears by the rule of St. Benedict) and from the lives of other bishops of this see, who had been monks, and who led a conventual life; likewise from various donations made to the *venerable family* of the church of Winchester, as it is expressly called, during the period in question; also from the monk of Crowland's retiring to this cathedral in order to lead a monastic life, when he despaired of being able to continue it at his own monastery, as related above; finally, from the very nature and disposition of the offices made for the clergy of the cathedral, in which we find mention of a refectory, or common eating hall, of a dormitory, or common sleeping chamber; from all these circumstances, it is plain that our cathedral was served, if not by monks, at least by regular canons living in community, down to the period abovementioned.

(1) It would be too tedious a task to cite all the canons, made in the primitive church, against the marriage of bishops, priests and deacons. Let it it suffice to refer to Concil. Elib. can. XXXIII. 2 Concil. Cathag. can. II. 1 Concil. Œcum. Nicen. can. III. 2 Concil. Arelat. can. II.—St. Jerom, in the fourth age, testifies that, in the three great patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, no persons were received amongst the clergy, but such as were either single men, or entirely separated from their wives. *Liber adversus Vigilant.* The testimony of the learned bishop St. Epiphanius, is to the same effect. *Hæres* 59.—Not to multiply quotations, the centuriators of Magdebourg allow, that, about the time of the conversion of our ancestors, a synod was held by St. Gregory the Great, in which an anathema was pronounced against bishops, priests, or deacons, who should presume to

in certain points of dress, and in the degree of its strictness and auste-

marry. Cent. x, f. 642.—The discipline of the Greek church, in subsequent times, became less strict, in this point, than that of the Latin church. Its bishops did not refuse to ordain married persons, to serve amongst the inferior clergy, (for no prelate, even amongst them, was ever allowed to have a wife); hence even their schismatical council, called Quinisext, or In Trullo, after their separation from the Latin church, utterly condemned the contracting of marriage, when a person was once initiated into holy orders, and such their discipline has remained down to the present day.—With respect to our ancient English church, if the truth must be told, we are bound to say, that its discipline was strictly conformable to that of the Latin church in general, of which it formed a part, and of course, that it was never lawful for any clergyman in holy orders, whether secular or regular, to enter into the married state; nor could any married man, unless he was first separated from his wife by mutual consent, ever be ordained to the higher orders. This we may gather, in the first place, from the above quoted passage of Venerable Bede, according to which, only those who were *not in holy orders* were allowed, in any case whatever, to marry or live in the married state. The same is still more clear from another passage of that primitive author, whom Camden calls the friend of truth. In his exposition of the first chapter of St. Luke, having observed that the priests of the old law were obliged to be continent only during the stated times of their ministry; he goes on: "but now an injunction is laid upon priests to observe chastity continually, and ever to abstain from the use of marriage, to the end they may always assist at the altar." It does not appear that any of the clergy ever attempted to infringe this law, until after the confusion, which followed the Danish devastations, in 860. Soon after this we find Pulco, archbishop of Rheims, congratulating king Alfred on the firm and zealous conduct of his primate Plegmund, in extirpating, what he calls the error of those who held it lawful for the clergy to marry. Flodoard. Hist. Rhemens. l. III.—In the reign of king Edmund, viz. in 944, we meet with the particulars of a great synod, as it was called, held at London, by the two archbishops and a great number of prelates, and other considerable personages; in the very first ordinance of which it is enjoined "that all, initiated in sacred offices, shall be careful, as their state requires, to lead their lives chastly, whether they be men or women, which, if they fail to do, let them be punished as the canon enjoins." Spelmen, De Concil.—The same learned writer proves, from the Penitential, which he publishes, that bishops, priests, and deacons, no less than monks, were conceived, in those times, to be guilty of a great crime, if they ever returned to the state of marriage, which they had renounced at their ordination.

This brief dissertation may serve to rectify the mistaken notions, which modern readers may have hastily taken up on this point of ecclesiastical history, from Parker, Godwin, Tanner, H. Wharton, Carte, Hume, the late historians of Winchester, and other ignorant or interested writers. Amongst others comes forward, at the present day, a writer, who has miserably

rity. (1) However, when Edwy, upon his coming to the throne, gave such public encouragement to licentiousness and irreligion; and when, at the same time, a prelate of Elsinus's character sat in the episcopal chair; it is not surprising that a considerable part of the clergy should have forgotten the obligations of their state, and have fallen into a great depravity of manners. (2) Those of our cathedral are accused of neglecting the service of the church, of taking wives to themselves illegally, and of changing them for others, at their pleasure; of indulging in drunkenness, gluttony, and other vices. (3) This account is confirmed by other his-

waded beyond his depth, wherever he has ventured to treat of ecclesiastical antiquities. Speaking of the revolution in the church of Worcester, which took place at the same time with that mentioned above in our cathedral, he says, "The popes had found it their interest to exact celibacy from the clergy. They incited the monks to raise an outcry against those, who, instead of devoting their whole time to spiritual employments, gave a part of it to the company of their wives, &c. Priests, that were members of the cathedral colleges, had not as yet been restrained from marrying." Valentine Green's History of Worcester, p. 26.—From this passage it appears, that the writer had never met with a single canon, or ecclesiastical authority, enforcing clerical celibacy, anterior to the tenth century, and that he ascribes the measures then taken by king Edgar and St. Dunstan, St. Oswald, and St. Ethelwold, to certain negociations between them and the popes, and to some new laws which the latter had just then enacted on this subject for their own interest. It was incumbent on him to have pointed out the negociations and laws in question. Unfortunately, however, too many of the popes in that age were abandoned to licentiousness themselves, instead of watching over the morals of the other clergy. The true policy of this original law of clerical celebacy, after all the sagacity of modern writers, will be found in 1 Cor. chap. VII, v. 32, 33.

(1) See Dugdale and Stephens, Monasticon.

(2) "Ordo clericalis eâ tempestate plurimum erat corruptus." Eadmer. De Vit. S. Duns.—"Fit canonicus (Oswaldus) inter canonicos ipsos (Wintonienses). Si quæritur qualis inter quales? regularis inter irregulares. Ipse enim, quæ institutio vitæ canonicorum docet & præcipit, indefessus exequebatur: illi spretâ institutione sui ordinis, juxta cordium suorum desideria gradiebantur. Eadm. De Vit. S. Oswald.—N.B. This famous bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York, was a native of Winchester, being born on the Lower Brooks, in this city. MS. Trussel.

(3) Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. III, c. XII. Annal. Ecc. Wint.—"Ethelwaldus, secundo episcopatûs sui anno, quosdam canonicos in veteri monasterio Wincestre degentes & ordinem

torians, secular as well as regular, and by king Edgar himself, in a public speech, which he made on the occasion. (1) It appears that our zealous prelate had often admonished the clergy of his cathedral to reform their conduct, and to live up to the duties of their station; and that they neither denied the charges brought against them, nor pretended to justify them; but, on the contrary, promised their bishop, day after day, (2) that they would give him the satisfaction which he required, by amending their lives. In the end, however, St. Ethelwold being convinced of the impossibility of thoroughly reforming men so corrupted, as they were, without the strictest religious discipline, ordered a proper number of cowls (3) to be brought into the choir, in the midst of the canons: and after a pathetic discourse on the sanctity of their state of life, he left it to their choice either to put on those religious habits, and embrace the monastic state, or to quit the service of the cathedral, being fortified in this measure by the authority of the sovereign. Three of the number were content to enter on this strict course of life. (4) The rest gave up their stalls in the choir, which were soon after filled by a colony of monks from Abingdon. (5) The displaced canons, however, were provided for out of the revenues of the church, in the most ample manner. (6) Nevertheless they could not forgive the disgrace which they had suffered, and some of them carried their resentment so far as to attempt to poison the bishop, whom they

suum pigrè & negligenter observantes ejecit, & monachos imposuit." Thus writes Henry, the secular archdeacon of Huntingdon.

(1) Ældred. Rieval. De Genealog. apud Tysden.

(2) "Athelwoldus monuit eos semel & sæpius mores & actus mutare, correctioris vitæ semitas, relictis fæminis, arripere. At illi, in præsentiarum quidem id sibi possibile esse negantes, voce corvinâ, semper in crastinum correctionem sui pollicebantur." Eadm. De Vit. S. Duns.

(3) Ibid. Rudb.

(4) Rudb.

(5) Ibid. Hist. Cænob. Abbendon.

(6) "Plura eis, ex episcopatu delegatar sunt, prædia, viciniora situ, ampliora redditu." Will. Malm.

considered as the author of it. (1) They so far succeeded in their malicious designs, as to cause excruciating torment to the saint, who had actually swallowed the potion which they had prepared for him; but, confiding in the promise of Christ, that even poison should lose its force upon those who firmly believe in him, and addressing himself to God in prayer to this effect, he was suddenly restored to health. (2) The canons of the new minster are described as being still more neglectful of their duty, and more hardened in wickedness, than those of the cathedral. (3) They were accordingly expelled the year after the latter, namely, in 984, (4) when more monks were brought from Abingdon, to supply their place. (5) St. Ethelwold died in 984, and was buried in the south crypt of the cathedral, which he had built. His episcopal chair long remained an object of veneration and popular awe; it being believed that those, who, whilst they sat in it, instead of attending to the divine office, gave way

(1) Will. Malm. De Pontif. Rudb. (2) Ibid.

(3) Annal. Wint.

(4) Thus say the ancient authors, who were the best informed, and who give the most circumstantial account of this matter. "Athelwoldus factus episcopus Wyntoniensis reclamavit monachos in propriam hæreditatem, viz. ad Wintoniensem ecclesiam inhabitandam expulsis clericis, &c. Iste etiam *anno revoluto* canonicos expulit de novo monasterio." Tho. Rudborne, Hist. Maj.—"Eodem anno (963) expulsis clericis, vetus monasterium monachis religiosis in eorum loco substituit. Anno 964 Eadgarus in novo monasterio monachos collocavit." Mat. West.—In opposition to these authorities a modern writer quoted above says: "Ethelwold went with rapidity into the work, and dislodged the seculars from the old and new minsters of Winchester, in the very first year of his consecration, A.D. 963." History of Worcester, by Valentine Green.—See Chron. Sax. annis 963, 964.

(5) Such a number of monasteries having been founded at this time, St. Dunstan, in order to preserve them in a strict uniformity of observances, composed and published, what is called the Benedictine Concordate, in this city of Winchester, as appears by its preface.—A question was agitated early in the seventeenth century, whether the first English monks, established by St. Augustine, &c. were of the Benedictine, or of a different order; which question was decided in favour of the Benedictine claim, by Cotton, Camden, Selden, and Spelman, to whose judgment it had been referred. See Dodd's Ch. Hist. vol. II, p. 476; also Stephen's Monasticon, vol. II, p. 109.—For want of such statutes, the former monasteries had adopted a great variety of usages.

to sloth and drowsiness, were punished with terrific sights and painful sensations. (1)

Edgar dying in 975, was succeeded by his eldest son, Edward, sirnamed the Martyr, but not without violent opposition on the part of the artful Elfrida; who, ambitious of ruling the kingdom, strove to get her own son Ethelbert, then a child of the age of seven years, chosen in his place. (2) Being defeated in this design, chiefly by the firmness of the saints Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwold, she vented her resentment against their new religious establishments; many of which, particularly the three noble abbeys, which our prelate had founded in the province of Mercia, where her friend Elfer commanded, she caused to be dissolved, and the possessions of them given up to married clergymen. (3) This brought on the famous synod that was held in the refectory, or eating hall of the cathedral monastery of this city, in which it was debated, whether the monasteries in general should be dissolved, or left as they were; on which occasion, a supernatural voice was said to have been heard, deciding the question in favour of the monks. (4) Soon after this a second synod was held, at a palace belonging to the king, at Calne, in Wiltshire, where the same question was agitated; the cause of the married clergy being supported by a Scottish prelate, by name Beornelm, supposed to be possessed of irresistible eloquence: (5) when, after much argument on both sides, a fatal catastrophe put an end to the debate; the room in which the assembly was held snddenly sinking in, and burying the party of Beornelm in its ruins, whilst the archbishop, with his friends who stood near him, were left unhurt, in consequence of the beams which supported them remaining entire. (6) Thus the magnificent monasteries in our city, with others

(1) Capgrave. (2) Will. Malm. Mat. West. (3) Will. Malm.

(4) Will. Malm. Osbern. Eadm. in Vit. S. Duns. Mat. West. Rudb.

(5) Osbern, in Vit. S. Duns.

(6) Some authors, as Hen. Hunt. and Rudb. say that St. Dunstan alone remained unhurt. Others, as Osbern and Eadmer, assert that his friends also escaped the calamity.—However that may be, there is not the smallest degree of authority or probability to warrant Hume's malicious insinuation, that this horrid tragedy was purposely contrived by the archbishop.

elsewhere, escaped destruction for the present. It is probable, however, that they would not have been so fortunate when Elfrida's power became supreme, in consequence of her son Ethelred's succeeding to the throne; had she herself continued in her former dispositions. But having carried her wickedness to the utmost extremity, by causing her innocent son-in-law Edward to be murdered, at the gate of her palace, in the isle of Purbeck; she was so struck with remorse for her numerous and heavy crimes, as well as alarmed at certain extraordinary accidents which befel her, (1) that she set out to visit the body of the martyred prince, for so he was considered by the public, and henceforward became a most sincere and edifying convert. Leaving then her palaces in Dorsetshire, (2) she came into this country, and founded the abbey of Wherwell, in the forest of Harewood, near the place where she had begun her career of wickedness, in causing the murder of her husband Ethelwold, by the hand of Edgar, whom she had previously seduced. (3) Here she abandoned herself to the most rigorous practices of penance, fasting, wearing hair cloth next her body, and praying constantly, until the end of her life; (4) and here she was also buried. (5) She had previously, however, made another establishment of the same institute, for persons of her sex, at Amesbury, in Wiltshire. (6)

When the most potent prince of his age, Edgar, was rowed up and down the river Dee in triumph, by eight tributary kings, little did he think that, in the reign of one of his sons, his own kingdom would be brought into subjection by a handful of pirates, and that the time was just at hand when it would be a disgrace to be called an Englishman. Such, however, were the consequences of his son Ethelred's degeneracy.

A proof that the author had no grounds for this calumny is, that he himself, after having advanced it, makes it a matter of doubt, whether any calamity at all, of the above-mentioned description, took place.

(1) Westmon. ad. an. 978. Will. Malm.
(2) At Corfe and Bere.
(3) Will. Malm. De Reg.
(4) Ranulph. Higden. Westmon.
(5) Ranulph.
(6) Ibid.

Edgar was always triumphant without a battle, because he was always prepared for it. Ethelred was always subdued in combat, because he was never in a state of readiness for it; from which circumstance he obtained the name of *Ethelred the Unready*. (1) The first place which the Danes attacked in the predatory war, which they now again set on foot against this nation, was Southampton, which was then considered as the sea port of Winchester. Landing there from seven ships, they accordingly pillaged it, and struck with terror the inhabitants of our metropolis. (2) This happened in 981, two years after the young king had ascended the throne.

Nor was the king alone degenerate; a great part of his nobility and subjects seem to have equally forgotten the virtue of their forefathers. If the truth must be told, none were more infamous in these days for their cowardice than the inhabitants of this city and neighbourhood; none more forward to bend their necks to the insulting Danes of the present day, than the descendants of those men, who, at Heddington and Brunanberg, had so gloriously triumphed over their forefathers in the preceding century. What adds to their disgrace is, that the inhabitants of the rival city London, in the course of this inglorious reign, defended it with true English courage against the many attacks which were made upon it. (3) During the greatest part of the war, particularly in 994, 998, and 1001, these barbarians had their head quarters at Southampton and in the Isle of Wight; and the inhabitants of this city and neighbourhood seem to have purchased an exemption from being besieged, by entering into a composition with them, and supplying them with whatever provisions they required. (4) But their want of courage and public spirit was never so

(1) Rudb. (2) Wil. Malm. Chron. Sax.

(3) " Frequenter urbem Lundonian impugnarunt: ibi autem semper male excepti fuerunt." Chron. Sax. an. 1009.

(4) Chron. Sax.—That Winchester was more strongly fortified and garrisoned, during the early part of the war, than other neighbouring places, may be gathered from the following circumstances:—In 980, the Danes took and plundered Southampton, killing or leading away almost all the inhabitants. Sim. Dunelm.—In 992, Elwina, second abbess of Rumsey,

justly condemned, as when they permitted a body of these pillagers, who had landed from the Isle of Wight, and made the circuit of Hampshire and Berkshire, marching through Reading, Wallingford, Cwicchelmeslawe, and Escesdune, to pass close by their walls, loaded and encumbered with the immense booty, which they had collected, without the least attempt to cut them off, or take away their spoils. (1)

Those, however, who were the most backward to engage the common enemy in the open field, were the most forward to destroy them by acts of treachery. In this censure are included the king himself, earl Edric, and the inhabitants of Winchester. For it was in this city, in 1002, that the joyful solemnity of Ethelred's marriage with Emma, *the Fair Maid of Normandy*, as she was called, was terminated by the horrible plot for murdering all the unarmed Danes, who were dispersed throughout the kingdom. Here the massacre began; (2) and here, as soon as it was completed, those unmanly and indecent revels, called the hocktide sports, were instituted by Ethelred, (3) in memory of the part which the English women had borne in it. These have continued, with a short interruption,

and successor of St. Merwenna, finding her monastery exposed to the fury of the Danes, fled, with all her nuns, (amongst whom was her successor Elfleda, daughter of king Edward the Elder) the relics of the saints, and their other valuables, to Winchester, as to a place of safety. Swayne accordingly advanced and pillaged the monastery. Capgrave, in Vit. S. Elfled.—In 1003, Wilton and Sarum were taken and burnt to the ground. Sim. Dunelm. Chron. Sax.—In 1011, the Danes burnt down Waltham and other small towns in the neighbourhood of this city. Chron. Sax.—During all this time the barbarians did not attempt to besiege Winchester.

(1) "Ibi licuit videre Wintoniensies, ignav umgregem & inhonestum, quippe, juxta eorum portas, ad mare redierunt pagani, cum victu & pretiosis spoliis, ultra 50 milliaria procul a mari petitis." Chron. Sax. ad. an. 1006. Idem. fere Hen. Hunt. ad dict. an.

(2) Trussel, MSS.

(3) The secret letters of Ethelred, directed to all parts of his kingdom from this city, ordered, as Henry Huntingdon says, (reporting what he had heard from old people who were living at the time) that all the Danes indiscriminately should be put to death; and this was executed, as we learn from the Chronicle of Wallingford, with circumstances of the greatest cruelty, in many parts, even upon women and children. But in other places it seems

until of late years. (1) It is true the Danes had acted in general with treachery and cruelty towards their hosts, but such a conduct was no example for Englishmen and Christians to follow. The dreadful vengeance which the Danish king Swayne, who landed soon after, with a fresh army, executed upon those of our nation who fell into his hands, and had dared to resist him, sickens us by its very recital. (2) With respect to our city, which appears not to have been summoned by Swayne before the year 1013; it instantly opened its gates to the conqueror, submitting to whatever terms he chose to impose upon it. (3) Marching from thence, the Dane once more fruitlessly laid siege to London, whilst the timid Ethelred escaped to his father-in-law on the Continent.

that the English, instead of killing their guests, satisfied themselves with what was called *hockshinning* or *houghing* them, by cutting their hamstrings, so as to render them incapable of serving in war; and in this cruel operation the women were particularly active, using scythes and reaping hooks for that purpose. Hence the sports which were afterwards instituted in our city, and from thence propagated throughout the whole kingdom, obtained the name of the *hocktide merriments*. These consisted of the women's tying men fast in their chairs, from which they were not released without certain indignities not conformable to the manners of the present age. The massacre itself took place on St. Brice's day, Nov. 13, (on which account, probably, the name of that saint is still preserved in the calendar of the Common Prayer Book) but the sports, by an ordinance of Ethelred, were transferred to the Monday in the third week after Easter, of which ordinance the following words are a part:—" Quia actum est istud hyeme, et non est tempus conveniens solatiis vacandis, statutum est ut in Wentanâ civitate post pascha 3æ septimanæ die lunæ, uxores teneant et ligent maritos, &c." Ex Arch. Ecc. S. Trin. ap. Trussel.

(1) Some traces of these sports are said to be still discernible in certain of the northern counties, where the women *lift* the men, as the term is, unless the latter redeem themselves by a fine.

(2) " Pars civitatis Cantuariæ incenditur, deinde tota capitur. Homines jugulantur, alii flammis devorantur, alii de muris præcipites dantur, plures per verenda suspensi deficiunt. Parvuli à maternis uberibus avulsi, aut lanceis, in altum projecti, excipiuntur, aut minutim in frusta conciduntur. Matronæ per plateas cruribus distractæ, demum ignibus injectæ moriuntur." Mat. West. an. 1011. Osbern, in Vit. S. Elph.

(3) " Wintonienenses perterriti pacem cum eo fecerunt, & obsides, quos vel quot expetiit, dederunt." Sim. Dunelm. an. 1013.

The hocktide sports, we may well suppose, were now not so much as mentioned; on the contrary, the greatest respect was paid to the *lord Danes*, (1) as they were called; one of whom was quartered upon every house, in quality of keeper or master of it. (2) Whenever an Englishman passed by a Dane, he was obliged to uncover his head and to bow to him; or if he met him near a bridge, to stand still until he had passed it, under the pain of immediate corporal correction. (3) Nor was this the greatest indignity which Englishmen, lately so exalted, had to undergo. For the Danes, living in idleness, and having no other occupation than to dress and adorn their persons, (4) became dangerous to the chastity of the women, and wounded the domestic peace of the inhabitants in the most sensible part. (5)

The same year that St. Ethelwold died, viz. in 984, St. Elphege II, or the Martyr, was in his place consecrated bishop of Winchester, by St. Dunstan. He was of a good family, and well educated; and in his early youth became a monk at Deerhurst, (6) in Gloucestershire. From thence removing to Bath, many persons resorted to him; who forming a monastery, thus gave a beginning to what afterwards became the cathedral of that city. (7) In this situation his virtues shone out so resplendently, that he was judged worthy to succeed the great St. Ethelwold in this see. His elevation made no alteration in his devotions or austerities. He continued, both in winter and summer, to rise at midnight, in order to perform the divine office, and prolonged his prayers until it was broad day; (8) and he never eat flesh meat, except when sickness rendered it necessary, and

(1) Hence the word *lurdane*, now used for an idle fellow.

(2) "Hospicium quodlibet per Angliam, habuit unum Danum custodem & magistrum domûs, super omnes alios." Hen. Knighton, De Event. Ang. l. 1, c. VI.

(3) Chron. Abbat. Jornal.

(4) It is recorded by Wallingford, as a proof of the luxury of the Danes in that age, that they used to comb themselves every day, to bathe once a week, namely, on a Saturday, and very often to change their clothes.

(5) Ibid. Hen. Knighton.

(6) Will. Malm. De Pontif.

(7) Godwin, De Presul.

(8) Osbern, in Vit. Will. Malm.

was otherwise so abstemious, that his body seemed to be reduced to a skeleton. (1) In his public charge he was indefatigable; particularly in his attention to the poor, which was so exemplary and well conducted, that there were no beggars in his diocese, during the time that he governed it. (2) His zeal was also conspicuous for the due performance of the public service of the church; and he is recorded for introducing the use of organs into his cathedral. (3) Having governed this see in the most exemplary manner, during the space of 22 years; he was, on the death of Alfric, the archbishop, much against his own inclinations, removed to the see of Canterbury in 1006, whither he took with him part of the relics of St. Swithun. (4) In this exalted station, his zeal and piety were no less conspicuous than they had been at Winchester. In conclusion, being reserved by God to witness that heavy calamity which befel his metropolitical city in 1013, (5) from the wide-wasting Danes; he acted the part of the good shepherd, in its utmost extent, exhorting, comforting, and assisting his flock, and opposing himself to the fury of the barbarians. He was seen to rush between the murderers and their helpless victims, crying out to the former: "If you are men, spare at least the innocent and the unresisting; or, if you want a victim, turn your swords upon me; it is I who have so often reproached you with your crimes, who have supported and redeemed the prisoners whom you have made, and have deprived you of many of your soldiers, by converting them to Christianity." (6) The person and the merit of St. Elphege were well known to the Danes; having been sent upon different embassies to them, and rendered them many charitable offices. (7) Hence they did not dare to strike him, but satisfied themselves with seizing upon him, and committing him to close custody, intending to extort an enormous sum for his ransom. During his confinement of seven months, these Pagans, being alarmed at an epidemical

(1) Osbern, in Vit. Will. Malm.
(2) Osbern. Godwin, De Presul.
(3) Not. MS. ap. Godwin.
(4) Osbern.
(5) See note (2) p. 172.
(6) Osbern, in Vit. Elp. Ang. Sac. vol. II.
(7) Mat. West.

distemper which afflicted them, were upon the point of releasing him, without any ransom (1) At length, however, their avarice prevailing, they sent for him to Greenwich, where their fleet then lay, (2) and put the question finally to him, whether he was prepared to pay the 3000 marks of gold, which they had imposed as his fine. His answer was, that all the money which he could command, had been spent upon the poor, and that if he had more, it would be their property; in a word, that he had no gold to bestow upon those, in whose presence he stood, except that of true wisdom, which consisted in the knowledge of the living God. (3) Being provoked at this answer, they beat him to the ground, and began to overwhelm him with stones, and the horns of slaughtered oxen; (4) whilst he, raising up his eyes to heaven, thus addressed himself to his divine master: *O good shepherd, do thou watch over the children of thy church, whom, with my last breath, I recommend to thee.* (5) Our saint having pronounced this prayer, and continuing to suffer, a Dane, by name Thrun, whom he had the day before baptized, moved by a cruel kind of pity, struck him on the head, with his battle axe, and completed his martyrdom. (6)

In the year 1014 died the cruel oppressor of the English nation, Swayne. This event raised their hopes and that of Ethelred, who returned home from Normandy; but for no other purpose than to pass here another inglorious year, partly through his own negligence, and partly through the treachery of his chief noblemen, before death released him from his multiplied disappointments and disgrace. The latter only of these causes prevented Ethelred's son and successor, Edmund Ironside, from happily vindicating his own and his country's cause; for nothing was wanting on his part, either as an able general, or a valiant soldier, to secure success; which, in the battle of Ashdown, (7) in particular, was on the very point of rewarding his heroic valour; when one of his own generals, the vile Edric, by the most treacherous artifice, snatched the victory out of his

(1) Osbern. (2) Idem. Mat. West. (3) Osbern.
(4) Mat. West. (5) Osbern. (6) Mat. West.
(7) In Essex. Hen. Hunt.

hands, and devoted the bravest of his countrymen to the swords of their enraged enemies.(1) In conclusion, after a trial of personal strength and valour between the rival kings, Edmund and Canute, in which the former appears to have had the advantage,(2) it was agreed to divide the kingdom; Westsex, with our city, which was still the most honourable portion, being assigned to the former, and Mercia, with the city of London, to the latter. Thus was Winchester once more under the government of a native prince. This division, however, lasted but a very short time, for the valiant Edmund being carried off, either by treachery or sickness,(3) Canute became sovereign of the whole kingdom, and our city was again subject to a Danish master.

The contrast had not been greater between the glorious Edgar and his ignoble son Ethelred, than it now proved between the inexorable and persecuting tyrant Swayne and his magnanimous and religious offspring Canute. The nation, under the impartial and equitable sway of the last named, began to recover its former peace and happiness, and Winchester its ancient splendor. His first act, on gaining the undisturbed dominion of the whole kingdom, was to divide it, for its better government, into four parts, three of which he committed to the care of subordinate rulers; retaining the most honourable portion,(4) that in which his capital was

(1) "Apparuit ibi virtus Edmundi juvenis. Cum enim Dacos solito acrius pugnare videret; loco regio relicto, qui erat, ex more, inter Dracem & Standard (two ensigns so called) cucurrit terribilis in aciem primam. Vibrans igitur gladium electum, & brachio juvenis Edmundi dignum, modo fulminis, fidit aciem, abrumpensque mediam pertransiit, seque sequentibus obruendam dedit. Inde in aciem regalem advolat, ubi cum clamor & stridor horrendus inciperet, videns dux Edricus ruinam Dacorum imminere, clamavit Anglorum genti; Flet Engle, Flet Engle: ded is Edmund. Sic igitur clamans fugam cum suis primus incepit, quem tota gens Anglorum subsecuta est." Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. vi.

(2) Hen. Hunt.

(3) The last quoted historian, also Westmon. Rudb. &c. say that he was murdered by Edric, with circumstances of the greatest cruelty. Will. Malm. and Higden mention the public report on this head, but without giving full credit to it. The Saxon Chronicle, by its silence, as to this particular, equivalently rejects it.

(4) See p. 122.

situated, under his own immediate jurisdiction. (1) Thus Winchester preserved its pristine dignity and importance. Accordingly, the king being bent upon healing the wounds, which the nation had suffered in the late unhappy wars, appointed a general meeting of the nobility, in this our city, (2) by the advice and concurrence of his chief subjects. (3) Here a great number of wise and equitable laws were passed, tending to promote the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and to encourage morality and religion. (4) Other ordinances were made at the same time, of a more unpopular nature, for preserving the royal forests and beasts of chace, (5) which afterwards served as a foundation for the forest laws of the Conqueror.

The merit of this Danish sovereign's justice and clemency is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the Christian religion, which he had embraced from a sincere conviction of its truth, as appeared by the general tenor of his life. Amongst other acts of piety, his munificence to the priory of St. Swithun, as the cathedral of this city was henceforward stiled, which had been greatly impoverished and laid waste by the rapaciousness of his father, is particularly celebrated. Besides certain lands at Hill, he gave to it a large and costly shrine, for containing the remains of our apostle, St. Birinus; a prodigious large chandelier, of solid silver; certain ensigns, (6) and other costly ornaments of plate and jewels; insomuch that we are assured by ancient writers, that when strangers came to view the church, their eyes were perfectly dazzled by its splendor. (7) But the most extraordinary of all his presents was that of his royal crown, which he placed over the crucifix of the high altar; having vowed never more to wear that ensign of royal authority, from the time, when, by commanding in vain the flowing tide not to approach his feet, he proved to his flatterers

(1) Chron. Sax. an. 1017. Will. Malm. De Reg. l. II, c. II.
(2) Chronic. Jornal.
(3) Instituta Kanuti venerando sapientûm ejus consilio." Ibid.
(4) Vid. ibid. Lambard, &c. (5) Trussel, MS.
(6) Annal. Ecc. Wint. an. 1035.
(7) Will. Malm. De Reg.

the emptiness of their praises, in hailing him lord of the ocean. (1) Nor was he unmindful of the new minster or abbey of St. Grimbald. For amongst other presents, he bestowed upon it a large crucifix, composed of gold, silver, and jewels, (2) which seems without dispute, to have been the richest ever known in this kingdom; and which, by the exaggerations of some persons, was said to be equal in value to its whole annual revenue. (3) This most powerful prince of his time died at Shaftesbury, but his body was brought to Winchester cathedral for interment, where it was first deposited before the high altar. (4)

The succession was now disputed between the Danes, in favour of Harold, Canute's son by a former wife, and the English, in behalf of Hardicanute, his son by his second wife Emma, the relict of the unfortunate Ethelred. However, the former faction prevailed in a Witenagemot, or council of state, held at Oxford; and the whole kingdom was adjudged to Harold, except the city of Winchester, with the dependent territory of Westsex, which were assigned to queen Emma, there to keep court in the name of her son. (5) The royal treasures also and furniture, which were preserved in our city, seem to have been given up to her. (6) This agreement, however, was of little force against the tyrannical rapacity of Harold. He first sent his messengers to seize upon all the most precious articles, contained in the palace here, (7) and the next year absosutely drove her out of the city and the kingdom; (8) but not until she had first received

(1) Hen. Hunt. Mat. West. Rudb.—" Ab hac hora coronam in capite non gestavit, sed super caput crucifixi Wintoniæ posuit." Ran. Higd.—The scene of Canute's commanding the waves, Knighton, by mistake, places on the shore of the Thames; but Rudborne, who quotes more ancient authors, near the ancient Southampton, now the port of Northam. The memory of the identical spot, where this transaction took place, is still pointed out at Bittern, in Northam harbour, by the tradition of the inhabitants.

(2) Will. Malm. (3) Trussel, MS.

(4) His original epitaph was the following rhyming verse:—

" *Moribus inclutus, hic jacet nomine Knutus.*" Trussel.

(5) Chron. Sax. an. 1036. Hen. Hunt. (6) Rog. Hoved. Annal. p. 1.

(7) Ibid. Ran. Higd. (8) Hen. Hunt. Rog. Hov.

and entertained for some time in this city, Alfred, and Edward the Confessor, (1) her two sons by Ethelred. The former was seized upon, and treacherously slain by Earl Godwin; (2) the latter with difficulty escaped back into Normandy, whither he was followed soon after by Emma herself, who resided until the death of Harold, in the castle of Bruges, in Flanders. (3)

Harold met with an early fate in the year 1039, (4) having done nothing during his reign deserving of memory. (5) His death, which was a general subject of joy to the English nation, was peculiarly beneficial to this city; as it occasioned Emma, who was particularly attached to it, and who continued to bestow her royal presents on the cathedral, (6) to return and reside here, as she had done before. Her power was unlimited during the two short years of her son Hardicanute's reign; who was not indeed destitute of many princely qualities; (7) but being deeply infected with the prevailing vice of the Danes, he fell a victim to it, at a marriage feast at Lambeth; falling down speechless and senseless, in the midst of mirth and jollity, as he stood up (8) to wassail the bride in a potent draught. He expired soon after, and his body was brought to our cathedral, where it was buried near that of his father, Canute. (9)

(1) Hoveden.

(2) Will. Malm. mentions a report that his eyes were put out at Guildford, where it is certain his followers were cruelly murdered; and that afterwards he was sent to Ely, and died there; but he does not give implicit credit to this rumour. Our other ancient historians, as Hoveden, Mat. West. are divided concerning the circumstances of his death, but all ascribe it, as Edward himself likewise did, to the wickedness of Godwin.

(3) Hen. Hunt. Mat. West. Chron. Sax. (4) Chron. Sax.

(5) Rudb. (6) Annal. Wint.

(7) "Claræ indolis & benignæ juventutis." Hen. Hunt.—This writer mentions it as a proof of his royal liberality, that he caused four meals to be provided every day for those of his household, whilst succeeding kings were accustomed to give them only one meal in the day.

(8) Sim. Dunelm. Ranulph. Higden. Rog. Hov.

(9) Ailred Riev. Rudb. &c.—Near the same spot, six years afterwards, was interred earl Beorn, the nephew of king Canute, who was treacherously conveyed to Exmouth, in Devonshire, and there murdered by his cousin Swayne. Rog. Hov. Chron. Sax. an. 1045.

However light the Danish yoke might have appeared, since the beginning of Canute's reign, compared with what it had been in the days of Swayne; still it was a yoke, both disgraceful and painful in many respects, from which the English sighed to be free, though as yet there was no prospect of their obtaining the desired blessing. At length, however, by the unexpected death, first of Harold and then of Hardicanute, without either of them leaving children; the way to the throne was left open to a native prince, the descendant of their illustrious West Saxon line, and one who was the very mirror of justice, moderation, humanity, and every other amiable virtue. This was Edward; for his sanctity, sirnamed the Confessor; the son of Ethelred, by queen Emma. The voice of the nation now loudly calling him to the crown, this was accordingly placed upon his head, with the accustomed ceremonies, by the two archbishops, in the presence of most of the other prelates and nobility, in the cathedral of our city; (1) an event not the least honourable amongt those which have distinguished it. The joy of the people was immoderate; and, as is usual with their passions in general, proceeded, in certain places, to the most fatal excesses. Some Danes were murdered by them, (2) and the disorderly hocktide sports began again in our city, (3) and were never afterwards suspended. The monks of the cathedral joined in the general festivity, the ceremonies of which were extended, by charter, to all future occasions, on which a king of England should wear his crown in this city. (4)

We now resume the history of our bishops. Upon the translation of the holy martyr, St. Elphege, from this see to Canterbury, Kenulphus, otherwise called Elsius, who had been a monk of this cathedral, and

(1) Will. Malm. (2) Knighton, De Event. (3) Trussel, MS.

(4) St. Edward granted a charter at his coronation (the benefit of which was probably much later extended to the monasteries of Westminster and Worcester) that as often as a king of England should wear his crown in the city, half a mark should be given to the master of the choir, and that a cask of wine and an hundred cakes of white bread should be bestowed for the benefit of the convent. Annal. Wint. an. 1053.—The cakes here spoken of are called *sumnelli*, otherwise termed *wastalli*. Glossar. Twysden.

afterwards abbot of Peterborough, became bishop of Winchester. (1) He died the same year in which he was consecrated, namely, in 1006, and was succeeded by Brithwold, otherwise called Ethelwold, whose death happened in 1015. (2) Elsinus next wore the mitre until the year 1032, when dying, he made place for the famous Alwyn, whose history requires a more detailed relation. This prelate was a Norman by birth, and related to queen Emma, with whom he was sent hither by duke Richard, her father, in quality of her counsellor, or guardian, when she came to espouse Ethelred, in the year 1002. (3) Being yet a layman, he was made earl of Southampton, and employed as a general against the Danes; in which station he acquitted himself with fidelity and courage, until the peace between Edmund Ironside and Canute left him at liberty to follow his inclinations for a life of retirement and devotion. (4) With this view he became a monk in the cathedral priory of St. Swithun; bishop Ethelwold himself, out of respect to so illustrious a novice, investing him with the cowl of St. Benedict. He was soon after appointed to the monastic office of sacristan; (5) which circumstance will perhaps account for the profusion of rich presents bestowed upon the cathedral by king Canute and his queen. For being a monk, he could receive no presents for his own use; the only way, therefore, of complimenting him was to bestow them upon the church, of which he had the care. At length, in the nineteenth year of his religious profession, he was drawn from his obscurity by Canute, at the desire of his queen, and raised to the vacant see of Winchester, (6) which he held for some years after the Confessor came to the crown. It is agreed amongst our historians, (7) that this religious monarch, in the beginning of his reign, behaved with rigour to his mother Emma, (8)

(1) Rudb.—Godwin accuses him of simony, but upon what grounds does not appear.

(2) We follow the chronology of the editor of Rudborne, rather than that of the monk himself.

(3) Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. iv, c. i. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. (6) Ibid.

(7) Will. Malm. Mat. West. Rog. Hoveden. Ran. Higden.

(8) Ran. Higd. Chron. Brompton. Knighton. Tho. Rudb. Hist. Maj. Annal. Wint.

seizing upon her treasures in this city, and obliging her to retire to the neighbouring abbey of Wherwell. Some of them add, that the chief cause of this treatment, were the calumnies laid to her charge by the king's favourite counsellor, Robert, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, of her having been accessary to the death of her son Alfred, and of criminal familiarity with our prelate Alwyn. (1) The same writers tell us, that the queen wrote letters from Wherwell to different prelates, insisting upon undergoing the proof, so usual in those days, of the fiery ordeal; (2) and that her offer being at length accepted of, she walked over nine red hot plough shares, which were placed on the pavement in the nave of this cathedral, without suffering the least injury from them. (3) In memory

(1) Ran. Higd. Chron. Brompton. Knighton. Tho. Rudb. Hist. Maj. Annal. Wint.

(2) *Ordeals*, from *or*, great, and *deal*, judgment, were of different kinds.—1st. By red hot iron, either held in the hand, or walked upon with the feet bare.—2dly. By boiling water, into which the person accused was to plunge his arm.—3dly. By cold water, into which the suspected were thrown.—4thly. By duel.—These several methods of appealing to the justice of God, in vindication of innocence, were repeatedly sanctioned by the laws of this kingdom (as may be seen in Brompton's Collections) as well as of other kingdoms; and were in constant usage. Being practised with an upright mind and a lively faith, there is no doubt but the Almighty did frequently interpose, in behalf of innocence, as authentic history assures us. Amongst other testimonies, Eademer speaks of 50 men, who, in his own time, underwent the fiery ordeal without being injured by it. Nevertheless, as there is no warrant for such bold appeals to divine Providence, either in scripture or ancient tradition; the church, by her councils and other solemn decisions, repeatedly condemned these practices, until they were finally extirpated, as is proved at large by the learned Alban Butler. *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs*, &c. Oct. 13.—One kind of ordeal, that of cold water, was revived in this kingdom through the superstition of James I. and cost the lives of innumerable poor aged women accused of witchcraft.

(3) It is proper to state the historic evidence for and against this extraordinary event. It is not mentioned by the more ancient writers, Ailred Rievallensis, Hen. Hunt. Will. Malm. Rog. Hov. Sim. Dunelm. But it is related at length by Ranulph Higden, in his Polychronicon, who wrote in the middle of the fourteenth century. About the same time, viz. in 1338, it was sung, amongst other popular songs, relating to the history of Winchester, in the Prior's-hall here, at the translation of Orleton to this see. MSS. Wolvesey, cited by *Warton, Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. 1, p. 89.—The other evidences are rather of a later date, viz. Brompton, Knighton, Rudborne, Annal. Wint. and Harpsfield.

of this extraordinary deliverance, they tell us, these plough shares were buried in the west cloister of the cathedral, to which church Emma and Alwyn gave each of them nine manors, and the king three; namely, of Portland, Waymouth, and Wyke. (1) Alwyn died in

(1) It will be gratifying the taste or the curiosity of some readers to mention other particulars of this singular history, contained in the accounts of our native authors, Rudborne and the Annalist. See Ang. Sac. vol. 1, p. 233, 290.—They tell us, that Emma, having succeeded in her request to clear herself and bishop Alwyn, by the fiery ordeal; came from the abbey of Wherwell to the cathedral church, and there spent the night, preceding her trial, in fervent prayer. The morning being come, the king, the bishops, and an immense multitude of persons of all descriptions, assembled in the cathedral, to be spectators of the event. The pavement of the nave being swept, nine ploughshares, red with heat, are placed in a line upon it; whilst Emma, having invoked the Almighty to deal with her accordingly as she is innocent or guilty of the crimes laid to her charge, prepares herself for the trial, by laying aside her robes, and baring her feet. She is then conducted to the glowing metal by two bishops, one having hold of each of her hands. In the mean time the vaults of the church thunder with the voices of the assembled multitude, who, in loud shouts, call upon the Almighty to save the royal sufferer; and their cries are echoed through the whole city by the crouds who were unable to gain admittance into the church. She herself raising up her eyes to heaven, and slowly walking on, thus makes her prayer: *O God, who didst save Susannah from the malice of the wicked elders, and the three children from the furnace of fire; save me, for the sake of thy holy servant Swithun, from the fire prepared for me.* In a word, she is seen to tread upon each of the burning irons, and is not even sensible that she had touched them, but addressing herself to the bishops, who had now led her almost to the end of the church, she exclaims: *When shall I come to the plough shares?* They turn round and shew her that she has already passed them. The lamentations of the multitude then ceasing, the air resounds with acclamations of joy and thanksgiving, still louder than their former prayers had been. The king alone is found overwhelmed with grief and bathed in tears, lying upon the ground in the choir; to whom Emma being conducted, he begs her forgiveness, in terms of the utmost humility and sorrow, for the injurious suspicions he had entertained concerning her, and the rigour with which he had treated her. Not content with this, he requires of her, and the bishops there present, to strike him with a wand which he presents to them. She accordingly gave her son three blows; when, having embraced him, both she and bishop Alwyn were put into full possession of their former rights and property, and ever after enjoyed the royal favour and respect, in the degree they merited.—Such is the substance of what is related at length by the two ancient historians of Winchester, quoted above.

1047, (1) Emma in 1052. (2) Both of them were interred and recorded, with honour, in our cathedral, as its special friends and benefactors. (3)

Another instance of mortality, which took place in this city two years later, namely, in 1051, was an evident proof of the divine justice; and served to fix the guilt of one of the charges, which had been brought against queen Emma, upon the real criminal. (4) St. Edward was keeping the festival of Easter at his royal city of Winchester, when earl Godwin and others of his nobility and prelates dining with him, it happened that his butler, in carrying a dish, slipped with one foot, but recovered himself with the other. *Thus*, says Godwin, indulging in a sportive vein, *does brother assist brother.* (5) This speech recalled to the king's mind the suspicion, which he had long entertained against the earl, on the subject of prince Alfred's death. He accordingly answered in a tone of great severity: *So might I have been now assisted, by my brother Alfred, if earl Godwin had not prevented it.* (6) Upon this the earl, holding up the morsel which he is about to eat, pronounces a curse upon himself, that it may choak him, if he is guilty of that murder. The king, or as others say, St. Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, (7) one of the royal guests, repeats a short prayer, and Godwin puts the meat into his mouth: he attempts to swallow, but his efforts for this purpose are in vain; the meat sticks fast in his throat, and stops his respiration, and he is utterly incapable of forcing it thence, either upwards or downwards. (8) An instant afterwards his eyes are fixed, his countenance and whole body are convulsed, (9) and he falls dead under the table. Upon this the king, seeing the divine justice thus evidently displayed, says to his

(1) Mat. West. Sim. Dunelm. (2) Chron. Sax. Sim. Dunelm.

(3) Rudborne.

(4) The substance of this supernatural effect of divine justice is recorded by all our ancient historians, Ailred Rieval. Sim. Dunelm. Hen. Hunt. Will. Malm. Rad. Diceto. Rog. Hov. Mat. West. &c.

(5) Ailred Riev. Mat. West. Rudb. (6) Iidem. (7) Rudb.

(8) Ailred Riev. ap. Twysd. p. 395. (9) Ibid.

attendants; *carry away that dog*, (1) *and bury him in the high road.* (2) His sons, however, took care to have him privately interred in the cathedral of this city. (3)

This pious king contributed greatly to the future dignity and prosperity of London, by building the abbey of Westminster, which before had been a poor convent; together with a palace adjoining to it for himself and his successors. Nevertheless he had a regard for Winchester, bestowing upon it many gifts and privileges. (4) There is no doubt also but that our city was the chief seat of his government; the treasury, the records, and chief courts of state being kept here, as likewise the broad seal, which was first made and preserved in this city: (5) Leoffric, who was afterwards made bishop of Crediton, being appointed to keep it in the character of chancellor. (6)

Edward died the death, as he had lived the life, of a saint, in 1066, and was buried according to his own orders, in his new founded abbey of Westminster. Having left no children, there is no doubt, by his sending for the son and grandchildren of his brother Edmund Ironside, out of Hungary, and by the kindness with which he treated them, of his intention that the succession should continue in the old West Saxon line. Nevertheless, his nephew Edward having died before him, and Edgar Atheling, the son of Edward, being now an infant, the ambitious Harold, eldest

(1) Ailred Riev. ap. Twysd. p. 395. (2) Rudborne.

(3) Will. Malm. &c.

(4) " Ecclesiæ Wentanæ civitatis erat specialissimus benefactor & fundator. Dona largiflua veteri monasterio in Wyntoniâ contulerat. Unum est quod privilegium, God be gete, dedit ita liberum, veluti lingua poterit ennarrare." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. iv, c. iv.—It is probable that the privilege in question consisted of certain rights and exemptions in favour of the priory itself, and of the churches dependant upon it. The site of one of these, dedicated to St. Swithun, at the south-west end of St. Peter's-street, still retains the name of *God be gete*, vulgo *God be got*.

(5) MSS. Trussel.—The form of this broad seal may be seen in Speed, Hist. of Eng.—It is true, however, that Edgar and other preceding kings, sometimes used seals, but these were of a smaller size, as Dom Vannes, Dict. Diplom. proves.

(6) Mat. West. an. 1046.

son of the late earl Godwin, found himself strong enough to mount the throne; and as the prelates were unwilling to crown him, he placed the crown upon his head with his own hands. (1) Amongst other zealous partizans of Harold, was his uncle Alwyn, abbot of the new minster, in this city; whose forwardness in promoting his service by even accompanying him, with twelve of his monks, to the fatal field of Hastings, (2) nearly proved the ruin of that abbey, when the Norman dominion was soon after established.

(1) Mat. West. (2) Monasticon, Dugdale & Stephens.

CHAP IX.

General Influence of the Norman Conquest.—Instances of Oppression exercised at Winchester.—The Citadel.—The Curfew.—Doomsday Book.—Ecclesiastical Transactions.—A Norman Bishop.—The Cathedral rebuilt.—The Death of Rufus in the Forest.—His Burial at Winchester.—The Election of Henry I, and his Marriage there.—History of Molde, the good Queen.—A new Bishop named.—Dispute concerning Investitures.—Great Prosperity of Winchester.—Synod in this City.—Bishop de Blois builds Wolvesey Castle.—Civil War between King Stephen and the Empress.—The latter received into this City in solemn Procession.—The War breaks out again here.—Winchester nearly destroyed.—The Empress besieged in the Castle.—Escapes from thence by a singular stratagem.—A Pacification takes place in this City, between Stephen and Henry Fitzempress.

THE joy of the English nation, at their emancipation from a foreign yoke, was of short duration. Only twenty-four years intervened between the Danish tyranny and that of the Normans. These, however, were very different in their respective characters and effects. The two people were originally the same savage horde, indifferently called Danes or Normans, (1) infamous for their piracies, their cruelty, their impiety, and their barbarism; but since their division into two nations, whilst the Danes retained, in a great measure, their ancient, rude, and barbarous character, the Normans were become the most polished and learned, as well as the most powerful people in Europe. Hence, instead of destroying churches and other edifices, they repaired and rebuilt them in a new and more

(1) "Dacos, qui etiam eo tempore Normanni sunt vocati." Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. v.

noble style of architecture than had hitherto been known. (1) Instead of extinguishing the arts and sciences in this island, they soon rendered it famous for their cultivation. Finally, instead of extirpating the English inhabitants, they stripped the continent of its most illustrious men, in order to instruct and improve them. It is true the nation paid a severe price for these advantages; being treated as a conquered people, and deprived of every honourable distinction, and of most of their property, during the course of a century.

The first persons in this city who experienced that they were under the dominion of a conqueror, were the monks of the new minster, or the abbey of St. Grimbald. We have said that their abbot, Alwyn, had been so far hurried away by an indiscrete affection for his nephew Harold, as to follow him with twelve of his monks to the field of Hastings; where they all paid, with their lives, for the violation of their sacred institute. (2) This punishment, however, did not satisfy the vengeance of the Conqueror: for coming to keep his court, in this city, during the feast of Christmas, very soon after his coronation at Westminster, (3) he seized upon the abbey and all its lands. (4) The latter he divided amongst his followers; (5) the former he kept in his own hands for three years, at the end of which he permitted a new abbot to be chosen; not, however, until he had seized upon part of the monks narrow inclosure, on the north side of the present cathedral, in order to enlarge the royal palace, situated in that quarter. (6) It was at this first period of his reign also, that the Conqueror began to erect the castle of this city, with the same view that he built similar fortresses, in other convenient parts of the kingdom, as a bridle upon the inhabitants, and in order to secure the important conquest he had made. (7)

(1) Will. Malm. De Reg. l. III. (2) Stephens, Monast. vol. II.

(3) Trussel, MS. (4) Charta de Inspeximus. Dugdale, Monast. vol. I.

(5) See a list of these estates, thus seized and alienated, in Rudborne, Hist. Maj. l. v, c. I.

(6) Charta de Inspeximus.

(7) "Rex Wilhelmus, ad hostium arcendos excursus, tutissima castella, per loca stabiliens opportuna, militum electissimorum robore communivit." Rudb. l. v, c. I, ex Gulielmo

Many of the other severe and oppressive ordinances and measures, affecting the nation at large, were also planned and first attempted by the Conqueror in this his capital city. Being desirous of suppressing those nocturnal compotations, to which the English were so much addicted, (1) and which afforded them an opportunity of displaying their common grievances, and of conspiring against his government; he first enforced in this city a singular regulation, (2) which was afterwards extended to other places, by which the inhabitants were required to extinguish their fires and lights at the hour of eight in the evening, a bell, called the curfew, (3) being rung to give notice of the same: nor was it lawful to enkindle them again until the sounding of the morning bell, which was rung at four of the clock. As this ringing of bells first began in our city, so it is continued here until the present day. It was at a jovial meeting of Englishmen, at a marriage feast, (4) that the great and good earl Waltheof, one of the most powerful subjects in the kingdom, was drawn into certain rash projects for shaking off the Norman yoke; which, though upon mature reflection he abjured, (5) and even voluntarily confessed to William himself, yet could he not escape the death of a traitor, which was inflicted upon him, (6) to the great disgust of all Englishmen; who considered him as a victim sacrificed to the jealousy and avarice of the Normans. It was understood that the imprudence of the earl, whatever it might have been, had been pardoned and forgotten; (7) when he was suddenly seized upon, and, after passing through the formalities of a

Gemeticensi.—There is never any mention of a castle belonging to this city, previously to the conquest; but very soon after it, namely in 1070, we discover that it had one, archbishop Stigand being confined in it. Rudb. ad. dict. an.

(1) "Potabatur in commune ab omnibus, in hoc studio noctes perinde ac dies perpetuantibus." Will. Malm. De Will. 1.

(2) Trussel, MSS. (3) *Curfew*, quasi *couvre feu*, or *cover fire*. This was done by raking the ashes of the wood fires, which our ancestors then used, over the glowing embers as they lay upon the hearth.

(4) Chron. Sax. Mat. West. (5) Rog. Hov. Will. Sen.

(6) Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. VII. (7) Rog. Hov. Will. Malm.

just trial, (1) without the substance of it, in this city, he was led to the brow of the cliff which overhangs it to the east, called St. Giles's-hill, and there beheaded in sight of all the inhabitants; who could view the death of their favourite from their doors and windows. (2) The body, by the command of the Conqueror, was buried in the cross road upon the same hill, but was afterwards removed by his friends, and interred in the famous abbey of Crowland. (3)

A still more severe measure, than the law of the curfew, was adopted in this city, with respect to the neighbouring forest, now called *The New Forest*; which, at this period, being well inhabited, (4) and containing no less than thirty-six parish churches, was entirely laid waste, and given up to beasts of chase. (5) This, however, was effected, not so much for the indulgence of the pleasure which the king took in hunting, as from a motive of policy; in order to secure a safe place of retreat for his Normans, on the coast directly opposite to their own country, in case of a general insurrection of the English. (6) Accordingly three strong castles were built, at proper distances; two of them in the forest, namely, Christchurch and Malwood, and the third at no great distance from the eastern extremity of it, viz. Porchester, which, together with Winchester castle and Old Sarum, secured it on every side.

The most oppressive, however, of all the Conqueror's acts, (7) and that which gave the greatest uneasiness to the nation at large, was the severe inquisition, which he made in the year 1083, concerning the extent and value of the whole landed property in the kingdom, for the purpose of taxing it at his own discretion. This act appeared so terrible in the eyes of

(1) He was tried by his peers, being the first instance upon record, says Trussel, of this kind of trial.

(2) Leland, Itin. Trussel. (3) Sim. Dunelm. Will. Malm.

(4) " Eadem regio incolis, & Dei cultoribus & ecclesiis uberrime renitebat." Rog. Hov.

(5) Ibid. Rudb.—N.B. This place appears to have been a forest, before the time of the Conqueror, no less than it was afterwards; but at this period it had become too well inhabited for his purposes.

(6) Trussel, MSS. (7) Rudborne, an. 1083.

the English, that they called the volume, which contained the information of the commissioners on this head, by the name of *Doomsday Book;* (1) though the proper name of it, no less than that of the former collection made by Alfred, was *The Roll of Winchester*, (2) because here it was put together, (3) and here the original was deposited. (4)

Under all these disadvantages, our city continued to flourish and increase. This was owing partly to the causes above-mentioned, and partly to the enlargement of its trade and commerce, by the communication, which was now opened to it with the king's foreign dominions; but principally to the additional wealth and splendor of the new government, of which this city was still the principal seat. For here the Conqueror made it an invariable rule, as long as he lived, to keep his court and wear his crown, with the utmost pomp, and the greatest retinue of his nobility possible, during the chief festivity of the year, that of Easter. (5) This rule also was observed by his successor William Rufus, (6) who, upon his decease,

(1) " Vocatus est (iste magnus liber) Domesday, quia nulli parcit, sicut nec magus dies judicii." Rudborne, an. 1083.

(2) " Iste rotulus vocatus est *Rotulus Wintoniæ*, & ab Anglicis pro suâ generalitate.... Domesday cognominatur. Talem rotulum....ediderat quondam Alfredus...qui quidem *Rotulus Wintoniæ* vocatus est, quia deponebatur apud Wintoniam conservandus, quæ civitas caput West-Saxonici regni sibi hereditarii...In illo vero Wintoniæ sic maxime vocato.... descripti sunt, non tantum, totius terræ commitatus, &c. sed quot carucatæ terræ, &c." Ingulph. Hist. Croyland.

(3) Trussel, MSS.

(4) This is expressly asserted by the accurate and contemporary writer, Ingulph, in the passage quoted above; who, in the very next sentence, says, that he went to London to examine how the lands of his abbey were rated. This proves that the doomsday book, then and still kept in London, was a copy, not the original.

(5) " Ter gessit suam coronam, singulis annis, quoties erat in Anglia. Ad Pascha eam gessit in Winceaster ad Pentecosten in Westmynster, & ad Natales ad Gleawceaster. Tunc autem presto apud eum fuerunt omnes optimates." Will. Malm. Rudb. Chron. Sax.— N.B. Amongst other illustrious persons then residing in this city, was Edgitha, relict of Edward the Confessor. She died here in 1075. Chron. Sax.

(6) Chron. Sax.

in 1086, succeeded him. Hither also the immense revenues, which he raised by various methods, were poured in from the different parts of his dominions. (1) Accordingly it was to this city that Rufus hastened, to get possession of the royal treasury, which was kept here; (2) great part of the contents of which he then distributed to the churches, convents, and the poor, at once to comply with the dying injunctions (3) of his father, who had been touched with remorse for his past injustice, and to gain popularity, by way of securing to himself the crown.

The civil events, which attended the conquest, were accompanied by others equally important with respect to the church. The English bishops and abbots were displaced in favour of foreign ecclesiastics, as often as a pretence offered for so doing. Unhappily there was too just a cause for deposing the bishop of Winchester. This was Stigand, a man whose avarice and ambition were equally insatiable. He was consecrated bishop of Elmham, a see that was soon after removed to Norwich; (4) when, the diocese of Winchester becoming vacant, by the death of Alwyn, in the year 1047, he procured himself to be nominated to it; and five years after, by the like sinister measures, he got possession of the metropolitical see of Canterbury, which he presumed to hold in conjunction with the former. (5) This, with other canonical crimes, that were proved against him, furnished just matter for deposing him, in a great council of the whole English church, which was held at Winchester, (6) in the year 1070, under the pope's legate, Ermenfred, bishop of Sion. The king had hitherto behaved to him with a mixture of caution and respect. He had refused to be crowned by him, (7) preferring for this high office, Aldred, archbishop of

(1) "Omnem illum thesaurum Wintoniæ, totis annis regni, accumulatum, ab arcanis eruit in lucem." Will. Malm. l. III.

(2) "Rex proficisebatur Wintoniam & aperuit illud ærarium, ac thesauros quos pater collegerat, auri & argenti & vasorum & vestimentorum & gemmarum, &c." Chron. Sax. an. 1086.

(3) Ibid. Will. Malm. Rog. Hov. (4) Will. Malm. De Pont. (5) Ibid.

(6) Mat. West. an. 1070. (7) Will. Malm.

York, who had been a monk of our cathedral. In return, however, he caused extraordinary honours to be be paid to Stigand, as well in Normandy as in England. (1) But now that he was degraded, the monarch shewed him no mercy; committing him to close confinement, in the castle of Winchester, (2) where he continued a prisoner for life. Dying in this confinement, he was buried in the cathedral, to which, by his last will, he bequeathed a prodigious large crucifix, with the attendant images of the Blessed Virgin and St. John, composed entirely of gold and silver. (3) These were placed over the screen at the entrance into the choir. (4) The rest of his treasures the king seized upon for his own use.

To the high dignities, vacant by the deposition of Stigand, it must be owned, were chosen men highly deserving of them, though they were foreigners. Lanfrank, a Lombard, and abbot of Bec, in Normandy, who became archbishop of Canterbury, was, without all dispute, the most learned man of his age. Our prelate Walkelin, who was a relation, (5) and chaplain to the Conqueror, (6) was not behind him in merit, though inferior to him in science. This prelate, at first, conceived a prejudice against the monks of his cathedral, and was upon the very point of ejecting them, and supplying their place with secular canons; (7) but being restrained or dissuaded from this measure by his metropolitan, Lanfrank, he entered into his views for reforming the religious, and reducing them to the strictness of St. Benedict's rule. (8) In this undertaking he employed his brother Simeon, whom he procured to be chosen their prior, (9) and who, together with his successor Godfry, a man of great piety, talents, and learning, succeeded to admiration in this undertaking; inducing them to abstain from flesh meat, (10) and in other respects to observe their

(1) Will. Malm. (2) Rudb. l. v, c. 1. Annal. Wint. an. 1072.
(3) Annales Wint. (4) Rudb. (5) Ibid.
(6) Rog. Hov. (7) Will. Malm. De Pontif.
(8) Lanfrank was the third grand reformer of the English monks, the first having been St. Bennet Biscop, and the second St. Dunstan. See Monasticon, by Stephens.
(9) Annal. Wint. an. 1082. (10) Ibid.

institute with such exactness, that they became a model to the monks of the whole kingdom. (1)

In 1079 (2) Walkelin, whose genius and whose heart were equally capacious, undertook the greatest work which ever yet has been achieved by a bishop of this see, to rebuild the cathedral and the adjoining monastery from the ground, at his own expence, and in a noble style of architecture, hitherto unparalleled. Barely one hundred years had elapsed since this sacred edifice had been new built by St. Ethelwold; but soon after that erection, the city had fallen into the hands of the Pagan Danes, under Swayne, who, in their rapacious and sacrilegious devastations, we may be assured, did not spare the cathedral. Add to this that the Normans, upon their entrance into this island, looked with contempt on the Saxon buildings, and replaced them wherever it was in their power so to do, (3) with others more extensive, lofty, and massive. (4) An incident, which took place in the course of this work, deserves to be related, as it proves, at the same time, the greatness of the undertaking, and the generosity of the Conqueror. Our prelate finding himself, in the course of his work, greatly distressed for timber, applied to the king for such supplies of this article as he might be pleased to afford him. William, without much reflection, told him, that he might take as much timber, from his wood of Hanepinges, (5) in the neighbourhood of this city, as he could cut down and carry away in three days. The bishop, who found that the consumption of this article was great beyond all computation, resolved to avail himself of the grant to the utmost extent of it. He accordingly used such diligence, having collected

(1) Will. Malm. De Pontif. (2) Mat. West.

(3) At the same time that Walkelin was rebuilding his cathedral, the other Norman bishops were intent on the same work in most of the sees in England, as at London, York, Lincoln, Sarum, &c.

(4) This seems to be the distinctive character of the "novum ædificandi genus," which Malmsbury tells us, the Normans introduced; not any particular style of architecture distinct from that of the Saxons.

(5) Now called Hempage wood, distant three miles from this city, on the road to Alresford.

together for this purpose all the woodmen of the country, that he got every individual tree, of which the forest consisted, felled and carted to Winchester within the prescribed time. The king happened to be then absent from the city, but returning thither, over the eastern downs, a few days afterwards, as he drew near to it, he looked about with astonishment, and, addressing himself to his attendants, exclaimed: *Are my eyes fascinated, or have I lost my senses? For certainly I thought I had a beautiful wood here, adjoining to Winchester.* Being informed of the proceedings of his cousin Walkelin, he was prodigiously incensed against him, and refused to see him. This obliged the bishop to disguise himself, in order to get admittance into the royal palace. Having obtained sight of the king, he fell at his feet, and explained to him, that he had barely made use of the permission that had been granted to him; and added, that he was ready to resign his bishopric, and return to his old condition of chaplain, rather than lose his master's favour. The Conqueror, who knew his sincerity and merit, was at once disarmed of his resentment, and satisfied himself with saying: *Most assuredly, Walkelin, I was too liberal in my grant, and you were too exacting in the use you made of it.* (1)

This adventure happened in the last year of the Conqueror's life, and the building was continued during the seven first years of Rufus's reign, at the end of which, namely, in 1093, the new church being rendered fit for divine service, and the conventual offices for the reception of the monks, almost all the bishops and abbots of England assembled in this city. to honour the solemn dedication of them, which took place July 15, being the festival of St. Swithun, the patron saint of the place. (2) On this occasion, the monks went in solemn procession from their old to their new monastery, which was situated to the west of the former. The very next day the workmen began to demolish the ancient fabric, leaving nothing standing at the end of the year, except

(1) Annales Wint. an. 1086.

(2) Ibid. an. 1093.

the high altar and one porch, which seems to have been the corresponding part, or eastern end of the cathedral church. (1)

The rich citizens of Winchester, being incited by the example of their bishop, made other religious erections or foundations about the same time. In particular, one Roger de Inkpen built a general charnel house for the whole city, near the abbey of St. Mary, with a chapel adjoining to it, making suitable endowments for the canons who were to serve it. (2) With respect to Walkelin himself, having completed his vast undertaking, in a manner that seemed, as a contemporary writer observes, (3) to "bid defiance to the ravages of time, and to secure blessings to his memory as long as a bishop's see should remain in this city," he devoted himself chiefly to the exercises of piety and mortification, living with his monks, and not only observing their abstemious diet, but also denying himself the use of fish, wine, and beer, except on certain particular occasions. (4) At length, in the year 1098, Rufus being then in Normandy, and in want of money, sent a peremptory order to Walkelin, to transmit to him, without fail or delay, an enormous sum, according to the value of money, in those days, (5) which could not be raised without selling the valuables of the church, or withdrawing the necessary support of the poor. (6) In these streights he made it his earnest prayer to be delivered from the miseries of life; which event actually took place ten days after he had been served with the king's summons. (7) He was buried in the nave of his own cathedral, at the foot of the steps leading into the choir. (8) Soon afterwards Rufus seized upon this bishopric, in addition to the others which he had before sacrilegiously invaded, and kept possession of it until his own untimely end, which took place in the course of two years, viz. in 1100.

This event, which was considered, at the time when it happened, as

(1) Annales Wint. an. 1093. (2) Trussel, MSS. Leland's Itinerary, vol. III.
(3) Will. Malm. De Reg. l. III, item De Pontif. l. II. (4) Annales. an. 1098.
(5) C. C. Libras. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid.
(8) Rudb. l. v, c. I.

a mark of the divine wrath against the family of the Conqueror and the person of his son Rufus, (1) has an immediate relation with the history of this city. Being on a hunting party in the neighbouring forest, so famous for the devastations and sacrileges, which his father had committed in it, and also for the fatal accidents which had there befallen a brother of his and a nephew, (2) if we may believe ancient historians, he received different intimations of the fate which awaited himself, at the same place; (3) which intimations had the effect of causing him to stay within doors, at the castle of Malwood, where he then resided, during the early part of the day, on which the accident happened. (4) But being heated with wine at dinner, he began to ridicule the warnings of the monk, who had come to caution him not to hunt that day, (5) and issued into the thickest part of the forest; where, at the distance of half a mile from the castle, having called upon his bow-bearer, in a strain of impetuous profaneness, (6) to shoot at a stag, which he had missed, he received the arrow into his own bosom, (7) and died upon the spot. The next day the royal corpse was brought to this

(1) The judicious and spirited writer, Malmsbury, represents, in lively coulours, the crimes which the king was guilty of himself or caused in others. We shall only quote those words of the passage, which are descriptive of the dress and manners of the elegant men in those days: "Tunc fluxus crinium, tunc luxus vestium, tunc usus calceorum, cum arcuatis acuelis inventus; mollicie corporis certare cum fœminis, gressum frangere, gestu soluto & latere nudo, incedere, adolescentium specimen erat." Will. Malm. De Reg. l. iv.

(2) Richard, second son of the Conqueror, who is also buried in our cathedral, and another Richard, son of Robert.

(3) Will. Malm. Rog. Hoveden.

(4) Will. Malm. (5) Idem. (6) Mat. Paris.

(7) The tradition of the New Forest confirms the account of Mat. Paris, viz. that Tyrell's arrow struck the king in consequence of its glancing from an oak tree. This tree existed until within these last fifty years; when it was cut down and replaced by an obelisk. It was believed to put forth green leaves every Christmas morning, and multitudes of people used to assemble to witness the supposed prodigy. See Gibson's notes on Camden, who tells us, that Charles II. ordered it to be surrounded with rails. Another tree, produced from the former, is still believed to have the same quality, and is much frequented on Old Christmas Day. The writer, however, has ascertained that the reported annual prodigy is a mere trick of the neighbouring inhabitants.

city, defiled with blood and dirt, in no better vehicle than a charcoal-maker's cart. (1) Here, however, it was treated with proper respect, and buried in the centre of the cathedral choir; many persons looking on, says our historian, but few grieving. (2) A proof of the bad opinion, which the people entertained of the deceased monarch, is, that they interpreted the fall of a certain tower in the cathedral, which happened the following year, and covered his tomb with its ruins, into a sign of the displeasure of heaven, that he had received Christian burial. (3)

Henry, the younger brother of the deceased, appears to have been present in our city, at his funeral, with a great proportion of the nobility. He had always been the favourite of the nation, (4) being born in the island, and professing a great affection for its inhabitants, who had been so cruelly oppressed in the two late reigns. These circumstances, added to the advantage of his being upon the spot, where the nobles were assembled, and of his getting possession of the rich treasury of his brother, preserved in the palace, (5) easily turned the balance in favour of his pretensions to the crown, in preference to those of Robert, the eldest son of the Conqueror, who was little known in this country, and was then absent, upon the first grand crusade, in the Holy Land. He was accordingly, the very day of the funeral, (6) elected king of England, in Winchester; and, by way of earnest, that he meant to observe the ecclesiastical and civil laws of the kingdom, he immediately named a bishop to this vacant see, (7) who was a man of learning and merit, his chancellor William Gifford. Hence he

(1) The lineal descendants of this charcoal maker, by name Purkis, still live within the distance of a bow shot from the spot where Rufus fell, and continue to follow the trade of their ancestor.

(2) Will. Malm. Rudborne.

(3) Will. Malm. Rudborne.—The former mentions the popular rumour, at the same time that he treats it as a fable, ascribing the accident to a natural cause, namely, to the bad state of that tower, which was probably one, at the east end of the church, that remained of the ancient Saxon building.

(4) Will. Malm.

(5) Trussel, MSS.

(6) Chron. Sax.

(7) Ibid.

hastened to Westminster, in order to be invested with the crown and insignia of St. Edward the Confessor; (1) where he promised, by a solemn charter, to govern his realm by his equitable laws. (2) All these events took place within the space of a fortnight from the death of Rufus. (3)

The very same year Henry returned to this city for a very important purpose. Being desirous of ingratiating himself still more with the nation, he wisely resolved to espouse the lineal descendant of the ancient West Saxon kings. This was Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm and St. Margaret, king and queen of Scotland; the latter of whom was grand-daughter of the heroic Edmund Ironside. This lady appears to have been sent for education to her aunt, Christina, the sister of St. Margaret; who became a nun, and afterwards abbess of the royal convent of Rumsey, near this city. (4) Matilda afterwards resided in the abbey of St. Mary, in Winchester, where she wore the veil, to prevent being importuned by proposals of marriage; but without having made the solemn vows of the monastic state, as was afterwards juridically proved. (5) It appears, however, that she made a private vow of embracing that state of life, and that it required all the intreaties and authority of her father and friends to induce her to accept the hand of the most accomplished sovereign in Europe; they telling her, that she must be answerable for all the horrors of war, which were likely to attend her refusal of the proposed union. (6) Being overcome by

(1) It was out of respect to this good and beloved king, and thereby to gain the favour of the nation, that the Conqueror, and his successors after him, were crowned at Westminster, the crown, the robe, and the other regalia of the Confessor, with which the new sovereign was always invested, being kept there no less than his body.

(2) Sim. Dunelm. (3) He was crowned Aug. 15. Mat. Paris.

(4) Chron. Sax. an. 1085. Rog. Hov.

(5) "A teneris annis inter sanctimoniales apud Wintoniam & Rumesium educata, literis quoque fœmineum pectus exercuit. Unde, ut ignobiles nuptias respueret, plusquam semel a patre oblatas, peplum, sanctæ professionis indicem gestavit." Will. Malm. l. v.

(6) "Ipsa vero invita nupsit ei, parentum & amicorum consiliis vix adquiescens..Instantes enim, importunè dicebant: *O mulierum generosissima, per te reparabitur Anglorum genealis nobilitas..quod si non feceris causa eris perennis inimicitiæ..& sanguinis effusionis irres-*

this argument, she consented to espouse the king. She was accordingly married to him, by the celebrated St. Anselm, then lately returned from the exile into which he had been driven by the late tyrant, her royal father, and other relations being present, in this our city. (1) She was then conducted by Henry to Westminster, and solemnly crowned by the above-mentioned saint. (2)

To pursue the history of this lady, whose name is so famous in the annals of our city, under the title of *Molde, the good Queen:* (3) treading in the steps of her mother, St. Margaret, her whole delight consisted in the practices of piety and charity, being unwearied in attending the church service, distributing alms, (4) building hospitals (5) and bridges, (6) and serving the infirm and diseased, in person; with circumstances of tenderness and humility, which in this age would appear incredible. (7) She died in the nineteenth year of her husband's reign, and was buried in the eastern crypt of this cathedral, as the monk of Winchester warmly contends, in opposition to certain other writers. (8) In proof of his assertion, he refers to the cathedral registers, and to her monument and epitaph still extant there in his time, (9) though, he says, her remains had been translated into a mortuary chest, together with those of queen Frideswide.

Within little more than a twelvemonth after her marriage, queen Matilda had been delivered of a son, in this city, who was baptized by the name of William. The joy of Henry was unbounded on this occasion

laurabilis. Votum virginitatis Deo spoponderat, & ut multi perhibent, velum susceperat professa religionis." Mat. Paris. Hist. Ang. an. 1100.

(1) Rudborne. (2) Rudb. Hist. l.v, c. III. (3) Ibid.

(4) Will. Malm.

(5) " Iter alia pietatis opera, versus occidentatem Londoniarum plagam unam domum, ad leprosorum sustentationem, cum oratorio & officinis ædificavit. Et vocatur hospitale S. Egidii (St. Giles's). Et est istud hospitale in Holborne." Rudb. l.v, c. III.

(6) See Stowe's Survey.

(7) Will. Malm. Rudb.

(8) Chron. Sax. Will. Malm. &c. who say she was buried at Westminster.

(9) Rudb. ad. an. 1118.

He flattered himself that all the hopes, which he had built upon his late marriage, would certainly now be realised; though the queen more truly presaged that it would be attended with far different consequences. (1) In the joy of his heart he granted a charter of privileges to the city, to which he was indebted both for his queen and his son. (2)

The exultation, however, of the citizens of Winchester, and, in some degree, that of Henry himself, on this joyful occasion, was soon after repressed by a terrible and unexpected accident. A fire broke out this year, viz. in 1102, (3) in the centre of the city, which destroyed the royal palace, the mint, the guildhall, with most of the city records, and a great proportion of the houses belonging to the inhabitants. The other losses were gradually repaired, but that of the charters and other records of a city, so ancient and so highly dignified as this had been, at a time when it was not customary to multiply copies of such instruments; was absolutely irreparable. The mint, in particular, was soon restored; as this city, from the earliest times, had been the chief, and now, on a particular occasion, became the only place for coining money. For, in consequence of the great number of mints established in different cities, the

(1) "Abbatissæ paruit judicio, maledicens fructui ventris sui affuturo." Rudb. l.v, c. III.

(2) Trussel, MSS.—This writer, who was a dilligent collector, but an indifferent critic, congratulates himself on having found this charter, which he accordingly transcribes, and which may be seen translated in the Anonymous History of Winchester, vol. II, p. 44, which adopts it as genuine. In this Henry is stiled earl of *Andalusia*, and the witnessing bishops are *Thomas of Canterbury*, *Richard of London*, and *Gilbert of Winchester*. The word *Andalusia* seems to be a false reading for *Andegavia*, and this might refer to Henry II. But then no bishops, of the names set down above, governed those sees at the same time, in either of the reigns in question. In these circumstances, it is impossible for the author to adopt this charter, unless he should, at some future period, be fortunate enough to discover the original.—N.B. In the late histories of London, an ample charter, supposed to be granted to that city by Henry I. is published, which is equally suspicious, and was utterly unknown to Stowe, in his Survey of London.

(3) Annales Wint. ad dict. an.—Trussel, whose chronology is exceedingly faulty, places this disaster in 1112, in which, as well as in his other errors, he is followed by the anonymous historian.

masters of them seeming to contend with each other, who should enrich themselves most at the expence of the public, the current species of the kingdom was so much debased, that it would neither pass in foreign markets, nor even in our own. (1) The king, therefore, by the advice of his chief minister, the celebrated Roger, bishop of Sarum, was determined to remedy this evil. With this view he gave orders to all the coiners throughout England to repair to Winchester, (2) against Christmas-day, in the same year, viz. 1125. Here, being separately examined, they were all found guilty of the frauds imputed to them, except three persons of that profession in this city; (3) and accordingly underwent the severe punishment of mutilation, and the loss of their right hands. (4) To the artists of Winchester was therefore committed the charge of making a new coinage, to supply the whole kingdom; (5) all the base money being cried down, and cut to pieces. Finding also that frauds were committed in measuring cloth, he caused, from the length of his own arm, a standard yard to be made, which seems to have been deposited in this city. (6)

It must not be forgotten, that Henry continued the custom of wearing his crown and keeping his court at Winchester, during the solemnity of Easter, (7) unless prevented by particular business, as his father and his brother had done before him; and that, in the early part of his reign, being threatened with a war on the part of his elder brother Robert, who landing at Portsmouth, marched immediately for this city, (8) he repaired its fortifications. (9)

We have now to speak of the ecclesiastical state of Winchester, during the present reign. It has been mentioned, that the very first act of Henry, upon his being elected to the throne in this city, was to name his chancellor, William Giffard, to the bishopric of it, then vacant; but an interval of seven years elapsed before he was consecrated, or even received

(1) Chron. Sax. ad. an. 1125. (2) Ibid. (3) Annal. Wint.
(4) Chron. Sax. (5) Will. Malm. (6) Ibid.
(7) Chron. Sax. Rog. Hov. passim. (8) Ibid. (9) Trussel, MSS.

episcopal jurisdiction. The occasion of this was, that the celebrated controversy was then warmly agitated, concerning the receiving of ecclesiastical investitures from lay persons, by the pastoral staff and the ring; the practice of which had been recently condemned by the chief bishop and the church in several councils. (1) The decision was vigorously

(1) Hume, and other modern historians, who are never so well pleased as when they meet with an opportunity of stabbing religion through the sides of its ministers, are guilty of the greatest misrepresentation and falsehood, in speaking of this famous controversy. In the first place, Hume represents pope Pascal as palming the most egregious nonsense, in a strain of the most unsufferable arrogance, upon a prince, who was conspicuous both for his talents and his spirit. To be convinced how diametrically false this charge is, let the candid reader turn to the three letters of that pope addressed to Henry, which are contained in the history of his life, by Malmsbury, l.v. Certainly more persuasive arguments were never worked up, in more mild, affectionate and paternal language. In the second place, with respect to the ground of the controversy, it was not so much as understood by that infidel author, and other superficial writers of late times; which accounts for their unjust and outrageous invectives against the alledged encroachments of the church upon the civil power in wresting from it the supposed right of bestowing bishoprics and other ecclesiastical dignities. Let us take a succinct view of the whole business. Christ, who declared that *his kingdom was not of this world*, or in other words, that the church had no authority over the state; at the same time left his church independent of the state: *as my father sent me, so I send you: go, teach all nations*, &c. Accordingly the apostles, and their successors, the primitive bishops, during the three first centuries of the church, appointed and ordained other bishops to the vacant sees, according to certain canons or church laws, which they from time to time made respecting this matter. Still, however, as it was necessary, according to the injunction of St. Paul, that bishops should have a *good testimony from those who were without;* hence it became a general, though not an invariable rule, for the prelates, who met together at the vacant church, to hold a kind of election there; nevertheless, the votes of the assembly, however unanimous, were barely *testimonial* as to the merits of the person chosen; the bishops of the province being still at liberty to institute or reject the person so proposed, and the whole weight and efficacy (*confirmatio*, το κυρος, Concil. Nicen, can. IV.) of the election depending on the bishops, or rather on the metropolitan. See these particulars proved at large, by De Marca, Concord. Impor. & Sacerdot. Van Espen, Thomassinus, Fleury, Disc. Hist. Ecc. and by the author, in his work on *The Divine Right of Episcopacy*. When emperors and kings became Christians, they obtained, not all at once, but by slow degrees, possession of this whole right of giving testimony to the merits of the elect; to the exclusion not only of the people

supported by the archbishop of Canterbury, St. Anselm, the most learned man of his age; who refused to consecrate any persons who had passed through this ceremony, as Giffard had done, without their making a formal retraction of what they had done. On the other hand, the king was so earnest in maintaining this supposed right, that his ambassador to the pope declared he held it more dear than his crown itself. (1) Hence, upon the refusal of the metropolitan to perform the ceremony, he required Giffard to receive consecration from the archbishop

at large, but likewise of the capitular clergy, to whom, for the sake of peace and order, this privilege, in the eighth and ninth centuries, had been in divers councils committed. The privilege, however, of nominating or presenting a person to receive authority to preach, absolve, and exercise other mere spiritual functions, is evidently seen not to be any inherent right in the crown, otherwise it would equally belong to Mahometans and Pagans, who might make use of it to the utter destruction of Christianity, but was an occasional grant from the church, as appears by many of its canons and decrees, in return for the piety and liberality of the princes, in endowing the sees with large temporal possessions. At length, certain sovereigns began to consider it to be as much their natural and inherent right to appoint bishops to the several sees within their dominions, as to create temporal barons. They fancied that it was in their power to confer upon them spiritual jurisdiction, and that nothing more was requisite to constitute a lawful bishop, than that the person, whom they pitched upon for this purpose, should be consecrated by any other bishop. This appears in the conduct of Henry, with respect to our prelate Giffard. Hence they began to invest the persons whom they chose with the emblems of spiritual power, the crosier and the ring. Not content with this they made the most scandalous use of the privilege. The emperors, Henry IV. and V. in Germany, William Rufus in England, &c. publicly sold bishoprics and other cures of souls to the highest bidder: "Dei ecclesias expilavit (Willelmus) & episcopatus abbatiasque...sive pretio vendidit, sive suâ possessione retinuit atque elocavit." Chron. Sax. ad. an. 1100. Mat. Paris, &c. In these circumstances it became necessary for the church to resume a grant, which was so flagrantly abused, and to restore the former practice of capitular elections; at the same time leaving the elect at liberty to pay homage and perform all the customary duties, for the temporalities of their bishoprics, provided that, on such occasions, they were not invested with the symbols of faith and spiritual power, the ring and the crosier, as such a ceremony had been found liable to be misinterpreted.—See the authors above quoted, also Collier's Ecc. Hist. vol. 1, p. 302.

(1) Mat. Paris.

of York, a courtly prelate, who was ready to give into any sentiments or measures, that were agreeable to his royal master. (1) Our future bishop, however, was a man both of learning and conscience; he dreaded the ecclesiastical censures and disabilities, which he should incur by so uncanonical a measure, and chose rather to lose the king's favour and suffer banishment, which was accordingly inflicted upon him in 1102, than to give in to it. (2) At length, after much discussion, the controversy was terminated in such manner, that the church and the state kept, each of them, possession of their respective rights. It was admitted that the sovereign could not invest any person with ecclesiastical authority, and the freedom of capitular elections was fully established; the king, however, still retaining the power of recommending the person who was the object of his choice. (3) On the other hand, the metropolitan and the pope were content that the bishop elect should do homage to the king for his temporalities, and receive from him the investiture of them; but not by the crosier and the ring, (4) these being the established symbols of spiritual power and orthodox faith. (5)

The matter being settled, William Giffard was instituted and consecrated bishop of Winchester, together with Roger of Sarum and three other prelates, who had been in the same situation with himself, by St. Anselm, in the year 1107. (6) He proved to be a prelate of great zeal and piety; of which virtues he left several monuments to posterity, particularly the church of St. Mary Overy, with a college of secular canons adjoining to it, (7) a convent of Cistercian monks at Waverley, near Farnham, (8) and another of nuns of the same severe institute, (9) then lately introduced

(1) Will. Malm. (2) Mat. Paris. (3) Will. Malm. (4) Ibid.
(5) Pontificale Roman. Epist. Pascal ad Henric 1. Will. Malm.
(6) Mat. West. (7) Richardson's notes ad Godwin de Presul. (8) Godwin.
(9) Will. Malm. De Reg. l. v, and other writers of the Benedictine order, generously concur in praising the superior strictness of the Cistercians, at their first institute. The following is the panegyric which John Hanville, a monk of St. Alban's, in this century, composed upon them, and which, though in verse, is strictly descriptive of their way of living:—

into England, at Taunton. (1) But the most important work of this nature, which Giffard executed, was the removal of the New Minster, or St. Grimbald's abbey, founded by Alfred, from the north side of the cathedral to Hyde meadow, which took place in 1110. (2) This measure, in which our bishop was the principal actor, (3) might at a former period, have given offence to the monks, thus displaced: but now, since the encroachments of the Conqueror upon their narrow boundaries, and the unhealthiness of their situation, from the waters, which issuing from the new made castle ditches, and passing through a great part of the city, settled round their abbey, (4) seems to have been executed with the general agreement of both monasteries, as well as of the king and the bishop. Accordingly certain articles were drawn up, for the common advantage and satisfaction of all the parties, which we shall hereafter have more particular occasion to notice. (5) In the execution of some of the above-mentioned works, the bishop alienated certain revenues, which the cathedral monks conceived to belong to them. This gave occasion to great complaints, on their part, against him; and hence, by way of intimating that their

O sancta, O felix albis galeata cucullis
Libera paupertas! Nudo jejunia pastu
Tracta diu solvens, nec corruptura palatum
Mollitie mensæ. Bacchus convivia nullo
Murmure conturbat, nec sacra cubilia mentis
Inquinat adventu. Stomacho languente ministrat
Solemnes epulas, ventris gravis hospita, Thetis,
Et paleis armata Ceres. Si tertia mensæ
Copia succedat, truncantur oluscula, quorum
Offendit macies oculos, pacemque meretur,
Deterretque famem pallenti sobria cultu.

(1) Godwin, de Presul. (2) Annal. Wint.

(3) "Novum monasterium, agente Willelmo episcopo, extra muros construi jussit (Henricus I.)" Rog. Hov.

(4) Trussel's MSS.—This statement is confirmed by what Malmsbury says of the new erected monastery at Hyde, viz. "sanius incolitur." De Pontif. l. II.

(5) In the survey of this abbey.

prelate had turned things out of their right and natural course, they themselves inverted the order of their processions; marching round their cloisters contrary to the course of the sun, and carrying the processional crosses reversed. (1) At length, through the interference of the king, the contest was settled, (2) and the bishop became so much attached to his monks, that he spent the greatest part of his time amongst them; joining with them in their pious exercises, dining in their refectory, where he chose for himself the lowest place, and taking his meridian, as it was called, (3) with them, in their dormitory. At length, he received the religious habit amongst them, in the cathedral church; (4) as the epitaph engraved on his tomb stone, which was placed immediately above that of his predecessor Walkelin, testified. (5) He died in the year 1129, (6) and was succeeded, in the same year, by Henry, the king's nephew, being son of the Conqueror's daughter Adela.

It was during the reign of the first Henry, as Trussel rightly observes, that Winchester attained to the zenith of its prosperity. It was the chief seat of government, as we have frequently remarked, where the king wore his crown, and assembled his nobility, at the principal festival of the year, and where the treasury, the royal mint, and public records were kept. Here also was a royal palace, of the greatest extent and magnificence; (7) as likewise a noble castle at the west end of it, to which, about this time, was added another, no less considerable, at its eastern extremity, for the episcopal residence; (8) not to speak of the guildhall, and other

(1) Annal. Wint. an. 1122.

(2) Ibid.—On this occasion, amongst other gifts, he settled upon them half the fishery of Botley, in this county. Rudb.

(3) This word, which is now out of use, signifies the hour of sleep at noon, which was allowed to the monks, in consideration of a great part of the night being taken up with the long services appointed by their rule. Regula S. Benedicti.

(4) Rudb. l. v, c. 111.

(5) *Wilhelmus Giffard Præsul jacet hic tumulatus;*
Qui suscepit adhuc vivens habitum monachatus. Rudb. ibid.

(6) Annal. Wint. Not. Hen. Whart.

(7) Girald. Cambren.

(8) Wolvesey Castle.

magnificent buildings, whether for public uses, or for the habitation of divers illustrious personages, who were accustomed to reside here. It was enriched with three royal monasteries, besides other religious houses of less note, and an almost incredible number of parish churches and chapels; amongst which sacred edifices, towered supreme the vast cathedral, venerable, even in those days, for its high antiquity, and for its possessing the remains of more personages, of the ancient royal line, than all the other churches of the island put together. A more important advantage than these were its populousness and extent; its suburbs then reaching a mile, in every direction, further than they do at present; on the north, to Worthy; on the west, to Week; on the south, to St. Cross; and on the east, to St. Magdalen's-hill. (1) It was the general thoroughfare from the eastern to the western parts of the kingdom, and was resorted to from every part of it, on account of its celebrated fairs. Finally, it enjoyed a considerable woollen manufactory, particularly in the article of men's caps, (2) which were worn until hats came into fashion; and an extensive commerce with the continent, from which it imported great quantities of wine, (3) in return for its woollens and other commodities. But our city, amongst others, is an instance that civil, no less than natural bodies, have their periods of increase, maturity, and decay; and henceforward we shall have to relate the steps by which this city, though still for a considerable time one of the most interesting and important places of the kingdom, advanced towards the last mentioned of these states.

The first step, however, towards this decay, was not a natural, but an accidental cause, produced by that very evil, which the event, that had caused so much joy in this city at the commencement of the present reign, was supposed to have averted; namely, a disputed succession. Had our Matilda's son lived, or had her daughter the empress died, England

(1) Trussel.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote about this time, speaking of the respective advantages of different cities, says: *Testes Londonia ratibus, Wintonia Baccho.*

would probably have escaped one of the most dreadful civil wars, and this city one of the most heavy calamities, that ever they suffered.

Henry Beauclerk died at the latter end of the year 1135, in Normandy. His nephew Stephen, who had the first notice of this event, made all the haste in his power to London; where, as well as in this city, (1) he formed a party, before the death of the late king was known, and used such diligence as to procure himself to be crowned on the ensuing festival of the saint of his name, St. Stephen; only twenty-two days after the death of his predecessor. (2) Proceeding next to Reading, in order to be present at the burial of Henry, in the abbey he had there founded, (3) and thence to Oxford, where he solemnly confirmed the ecclesiastical and civil liberties, which he had sworn to observe at his coronation; (4) he next hastened to Winchester: (5) where he opened, in the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the two bishops of Salisbury and Winchester, the rich treasury of the late king, containing an immense sum, according to the value of money in those days, namely, 100,000 pounds, independantly of plate and jewels. (6) All this the new king seized upon for his own use, and distributed, but with very little judgment, in increasing the number of his friends. (7) Soon after this, having taken the castle of Exeter, which Baldwin de Rivers had refused to give up to him; he returned into these parts, and sailed into the Isle of Wight, which he secured to himself, it having before been the property of Baldwin. (8)

Stephen having gained the crown, by seducing the prelates and nobility from the allegiance which they had sworn to the empress Maud and her posterity, in the reign of her father Henry, (9) in which oath he himself had also joined; (10) was, perhaps, not without cause, suspicious of their fidelity to him, and therefore took every opportunity that he could find to

(1) "A Londinensibus & Wintoniensibus exceptus est (Stephanus)." Will. Malm. Hist. Novellæ.

(2) Mat. Paris. (3) Rog. Hov. (4) Ibid.

(5) Mat. Paris. (6) Mat. Paris. Mat. West. Rudb.

(7) Rog. Hov. (8) Ibid. (9) Will. Malm. Novel. (10) Ibid.

seize upon those castles, which the Norman nobility had been encouraged by the Conqueror to build, in order to overawe the English. (1) The prelates, like the lay nobility, also built their palaces in the form of castles, and, at the very time we are speaking of, the bishop of this see, Henry, was employed in building the castle of Wolvesey, at the east end of this city; (2) as likewise other castles in his principal manors, namely, at Farnham, Taunton, Merden, Waltham, and Downton. (3) But no prelate had built such noble castles as Roger, bishop of Salisbury, who had been chief minister in the late reign. His castle of Devizes was one of the most complete and beautiful works of its kind in all Europe; (4) nor were the castles of Newark and Sleaford, built by his nephew Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, much inferior to it. In short, the king was resolved to have these in his own hands, under pretence that it was not lawful for clergymen to hold castles. He accordingly seized upon the prelates to whom they belonged, and, by imprisonment, famine, and other barbarities, obliged them to surrender the same to him, with all the property and treasures contained in them. (5)

This act of violence concerned our prelate, not on his own account only, as master of several castles, but also as the head of the English clergy, in quality of pope's legate. He accordingly summoned a synod in this city against his brother, at which Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and almost all the other prelates, assisted; (6) as likewise Alberic de Vere, to answer, on the part of the king, who, at the same time, was residing at his palace in this city. The injustice and violence that had been used, and that continued to be used by the ministers of the king, were as indefensible as they were notorious; nevertheless the prelates satisfied themselves with sending certain deputies to Stephen, who, on their knees, reminded him of his solemn promises to protect the church, and entreated him to redress the grievances complained of. (7) Instead, however, of listening to these entreaties, Stephen set off to London, (8) leaving not only the prelates

(1) Hen. Hunt. Rudb. (2) Rudb. Annal. Wint. an. 1138.
(3) Annal. (4) Mat. Paris. ad. an. 1139. (5) Idem.
(6) Will. Malm. (7) Ibid. (8) Trussel.

here assembled, but also the citizens in general highly displeased and much disaffected to him.

In this situation of affairs, the empress Maud, with her natural brother, Robert earl of Gloucester, landed on the coast of Sussex, (1) and soon the flames of civil war were lighted up throughout the whole kingdom. The empress was apprized of the favourable disposition of the people of Winchester towards her, (2) and she even hoped that her cousin bishop Henry, who had lately, as well as on many other occasions, opposed the unjust pretensions of his brother the king, would assist her cause. But whether he was swayed by natural affection, or by a desire of putting the speediest conclusion to the war, that was then raging, he took an active part, and put in practice a most unjust and base stratagem against her. He invited a great number of the nobility and chief men, in the interest of Matilda, to an hospitable entertainment at his new castle of Wolvesey, in this city; and, causing she gates to be shut upon them, he then endeavoured, partly by persuasion, and partly by constraint, to induce them to give up the strong holds they were in possession of, to his brother. (3) The scheme, however, failed in the most important article of it, which was to secure the castle of Winchester. For the chief magistrate of the city, who was the commanding officer of that fortress, suspecting what was intended against him, escaped in time from Wolvesey, and, flying to the citadel, secured it for the empress.

The war continuing with increasing fury and ravages, Stephen, at length, after prodigies of valour, (4) is taken prisoner under the walls of Lincoln, and the whole kingdom, except the county of Kent and the city of London, declare themselves in favour of his opponent. In these extremities bishop Henry de Blois found it necessary to enter into a negociation with the empress and her brother Robert; (5) the terms of which being settled,

(1) Prid. Calend. Oct. an. 1139. Will. Malm. (2) Will. Malm. Hist. Novel.

(3) Mat. Paris. ad. an. 1139.

(4) " Dum rex Stephanus, ut leo rugiens, solus in campo persisteret & nullus ad eum accedere auderet, stridens dentibus &, apri silvestris more, spumans, turmas in se irruentes cum bipenni, quam tenebat, repellens ac hostes præcipuos potenter consternens, laudem sibi perpetuam comparavit." Mat. Paris. (5) Will. Malm.

he went out as far as Magdalen-hill, in solemn procession, accompanied by all that was great and respectable in this city, nobility, bishops, abbots, citizens, priests, the monks of both monasteries, and even the nuns of the abbey, (1) in order to receive her and her brother, together with the nobility that attended her. Dismounting from her horse, she was accordingly conducted by her cousin of Winchester, on her right hand, and the bishop of St. David's, on her left, with four other bishops, and the company above described, through the principal street of the city to the cathedral church, (2) amidst unbounded acclamations and joy. The solemn service on this great occasion being concluded, she retired to the castle; when both this city, and the kingdom in general, flattered themselves they had seen an end of calamities, which, in fact, were then only beginning.

The cause of their breaking out afresh, as we are informed by an intelligent historian who was then on the spot, in this our city, and in some degree a party in the business, (3) was as follows: The bishop, who was desirous of establishing a peace upon secure grounds, and who probably knew what would satisfy his family, in the existing circumstances; proposed to Matilda that the paternal estates of the captive king, on the continent, should be settled upon his son Eustace. The empress, who had already lost the citizens of London by her haughtiness, (4) treated this proposal with the utmost contempt. (5) Her conduct disgusting the bishop, made him neglect to pay court to her, in the manner he had done, since the late

(1) "In patente planitie camporum juxta Winton." Will. Malm.—"On Magdalen-hill." Trussel.—"Imperatrix a D. Episcopo & omnibus fere capitaneis Angliæ recepta est." Annal. Wint.—"Imperatrix, cum ad civitatem Wintoniæ appropinquaret, occurrerunt ei præsules Angliæ, abbates plurimi, cum baronibus & militibus multis. Occurrerunt ei quoque, ex ipsâ civitate, duo conventus monachorum, tertius sanctimonialium, cum clero & populo civitatis, in laudibus et melodiis processionalibus. Traditum est ei dominium civitatis & turris cum coronâ regni." Chronic. Gervasii. Dorob. an. 1141.

(2) Will. Malm.

(3) William of Malmsbury expressly says, that he was present at the synod which was now held in this city, for acknowledging Matilda's title. He probably accompanied his abbot, as secretary and counsellor, on that critical occasion.

(4) Gulielm. Newbrig. Rer. Anglic. (5) Will. Malm.

pacification. (1) Matilda, on her part, growing suspicious, came from Oxford, where she had spent some time, to Winchester, with a considerable force, under pretence of taking up her residence in the royal castle, but evidently for the purpose of securing the person of the bishop and his castle of Wolvesey. Accordingly as he neglected to wait upon her, she sent him a summons to attend her, to which he returned the following ambiguous answer: *I will prepare myself.* (2) The fact is, he did prepare himself, by putting his castle of Wolvesey, in the best condition possible to stand a siege, which was soon after laid to it by the troops of the empress, commanded by Robert her brother, earl of Gloucester, and David her uncle, king of Scotland. This event was a signal of insurrection to Stephen's queen, whose name was also Matilda; to his general, William of Ipres, and to his partizans in general, who were numerous in London. (3) They accordingly marched, in all haste, to the relief of the besieged prelate, and upon their arrival the tables were turned; so that those who had made the attack, were now forced to stand upon their defence. The armies were great and warlike on both sides, (4) and they carried on their military operations, during the space of seven weeks, (5) in the heart of the city; (6) a calamity almost unparallelled in the history of other cities. The party of the empress had possession of whatever was to the north side of the high-street, where the houses of the citizens stood in general, together with the royal castle. The king's party held the bishop's palace, the cathedral, and whatever else was to the south of the high-street. (7) By degrees also they forced their enemies from all the other quarters of the city, and confined them to the castle; (8) but, in effecting this, they made use of a most barbarous stratagem. They threw fire balls from Wolvesey,

(1) Will. Malm. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.

(4) "Factus est exercitus utrinque magnus, dimicabant quotidie, non congressibus acierem, sed militarium anfractuum circuitione." Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. VIII. Rog. Hoveden.

(5) Gervas. Chron. (6) Annal. Wint. Trussel.

(7) Iidem.

(8) Trussel.

upon the houses that were possessed by the opposite party; (1) a destructive measure, in which the brave earl of Gloucester disdained to imitate them. (2) Thus they destroyed, first the adjoining abbey of St. Mary, then the whole north, which was infinitely the most populous part of the city; together with twenty churches, (3) the royal palace, which had lately been built in that quarter, (4) the suburb of Hyde, with the manificent monastery of St. Grimbald, erected there in the preceding reign. Pursuing this ruinous measure still further, in their predatory excursions, which they made to prevent the empress from receiving provisions from the western counties, whilst they themselves were plentifully supplied from those to the east, (5) they burnt down the royal abbey of Wherwell. (6) At length the imperial

(1) " Interea ex turri pontificis jaculatum incendium in domos burgensium, qui, ut dixi, proniores erant fælicitati imperatricis quam episcopi, comprehendit & combussit totam abbatiam sanctimonalium intra urbem, simulque cænobium, monachorum, quod dicitur ad Hidam extra." Will. Malm.

(2) Comes (Robertus) interea, quamvis quotidiano regiorum prælio cum suis afflictaretur, semper ab incendio ecclesiarum temperandum putavit, quamvis in vicinio S. Swithuni, hospitatus esset." Will. Malm. Novel.

(3) Gerv. Dorob.—Stow quotes an authority, according to which forty churches were then burnt. (4) Trussel. (5) Will. Malm.

(6) " Joannem, nobilem quemdam fautorem eorum, ad monasterium Warwellensem fugientem, milites episcopi persequentes, cum eum inde extrahere non valerent, ecclesiam cremaverunt, cum domibus & libris & vestimentis sanctimonialium, &c." Gerv. Chron.—The same author still more expressly ascribes the guilt of burning Winchester to the bishop: " Hinc civitas famosa, 2 die Aug. agente & præcipiente ejusdem civitatis episcopo, traditur incendio, quo monasterium sanctimonalium, cum officinis suis & plusquam 20 ecclesiis, cum meliore parte civitatis & cænobio S. Grimbaldi, cum ædibus suis, in cinerem redactum est." Ibid.—But the well informed William of Malmsbury, who dedicates his work to earl Robert, and who therefore could be no favourer of the bishop, expressly ascribes the destruction of Wherwell to the savage temper of the general, William of Ipres, whom he calls " a wicked wretch, who feared neither God nor man;" and, by his silence, he acquits the bishop of being concerned in the calamity of our city, further than by being of the same party with those who were the authors of it. This same is the opinion of Godwin, in his account of our prelate. Indeed Gervase himself admits, that the bishop withdrew himself from the city, and Trussel says that he retired to Waltham.

party were confined to the castle, in which they might long have bid defiance to their enemies, had they not been straitened for want of provisions, (1) and still more for want of water: for the besiegers perceiving that a stream from the river, flowing round the castle, added to its strength, and supplied it with the aforesaid necessary; they at length obstructed the course of it, (2) and thus brought matters to a crisis with the besieged. The chief object of anxiety, to her brave brother and uncle, was to save the person of the empress; and here the fertility of her genius came in aid to their valour. She caused a report to be spread of her illness, and then, after a suitable interval, of her death; (3) taking care, in the mean time, to keep herself out of the sight of every one, except a few trusty friends. In short, she was inclosed, like a corpse in a sheet of lead, and was thus suffered to pass in a horse litter, as if carried out for interment, through the army of the besiegers, a truce having been granted for this purpose. (4) When she had reached a proper distance, she was freed from her dismal inclosure: and then mounting her horse, made the best of her way, by Luggershal and Devizes, to Gloucester. (5) In the mean time, earl Robert, with his followers and the king of Scots, taking advantage of the truce, suddenly issued from the castle, with all their followers; but, being pursued by Stephen's army, the earl was taken prisoner at Stockbridge, (6) whilst the king, having disguised himself, was so fortunate as to effect his escape into his own dominions. (7) The captive earl was not of less value to the imperial, than Stephen was to the regal party; accordingly a proposition having been made to interchange them, it was readily agreed to on both sides. It was settled that Robert should recover his liberty upon Stephen's

(1) Will. Malm. (2) Trussel. (3) Trussel, MSS.

(4) Idem.—Gervase says, that this singular stratagem was practised by the empress at Devizes; Walsingham, at Wallingford; but many circumstances support the assertion of Brompton, Knighton, Trussel, and others, that our castle, during this remarkable siege, was the scene of it.

(5) The account here given appears to be the most probable way of reconciling the little variations in the accounts of different ancient authors.

(6) Gervas. Chron. (7) Gulielm. Newbrig. Rer. Ang.

being restored to his friends at Winchester. Thus passed over the eventful year 1141, so calamitous to our city.

One of the first concerns of king Stephen, upon the recovery of his liberty, was to strengthen with new works the castle of this city, which had lately been found to be of so great importance; (1) but, whilst he was intent upon completing this undertaking, a large army of his enemies being collected together before it from the neighbouring country, which was entirely hostile to his interests, obliged him to abandon this fortress, and to save himself by flight. (2)

The war continued, with various success, ten years longer, but without any remarkable events immediately relating to our city. One measure, which originated here, tended greatly to diminish its general horrors. The bishop, by his legatine authority, held a synod at Winchester, in which it was resolved, that ploughs should have the same privilege of sanctuary with churches; and a sentence of excommunication was pronounced by the whole assembly, with the ceremony of lighted torches in their hands, against all those who should attack or injure any person engaged in the employments of agriculture. (3) At length, Stephen having lost his only son Eustace, his brother and his queen, was induced by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and our prelate, (4) to enter into pacific views: and a final conclusion was put to the war in this our city, (5) where it had begun:

(1) "Septimo anno sui regni construxit Stephanus quoddam castellum apud Wintoniam." Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. VIII.—"Cum rex Stephanus apud Wintoniam quoddam castellum firmaret." Rog. Hov. (2) Iidem.

(3) "Statutum est (in Concil. Wint.) ut aratra in campis, cum ipsis agricolis, talem pacem haberent, qualem haberent in cimiterio, si existerent. Excommunicaverunt autem omnes qui contra hoc decretum venirent, candelis accensis; & sic milvorum rapacitas aliquantulum conquievit." Mat. Paris, ad. an. 1142. (4) Hen. Hunt.

(5) The terms of pacification were indeed agreed upon between Stephen and Henry at the siege of Wallingford castle, as Mat. Paris and Mat. West. relate, but it was in this city that they were ratified by the consent of the whole kingdom. "Factum est ut mense Novembris, an. 1153, ex præcepto regis & ducis (Henrici) convenirent apud Wintoniam præsules & principes regni, ut et ipsi jam initæ paci præberent assensum. Pacto itaque in civitate Wintoniæ conventu publico, & duce, cum ingenti gaudio, in episcopali sede

young Henry Fitzempress, as he was called, being now in England, and, with the consent of the nobility, who assembled here for this purpose, (1) agreeing that Stephen should enjoy the crown during his life time; while Stephen, on the other hand, consented to adopt Henry for his son, and to acknowledge him as the rightful heir of the throne, (2) after his decease. In relating this happy termination of a civil war, the horrors of which he had himself seen and felt, a contemporary historian breaks out into the following exclamation:—" O how blessed was the day, when the illustrious youth, Henry, was received and conducted by the king himself in a solemn procession of mitred prelates and armed heroes, through the streets of Winchester, amidst the joyful acclamations of an infinite multitude of people !" (3)

suscepto, &c." Gerv. Dorob. Chron.—The last clause means that young Henry was conducted in procession to the cathedral church.

(1) Trussel. (2) Mat. West.

(3) Hen. Hunt. sub finem Hist.—N.B. It was to the calamities, brought upon our city, by this war of ambition and avarice, that the poet alludes in the motto, which is prefixed to the present work. Alexander Necham, who died in 1227, had probably, in his younger days, been an eye witness of the ruins, which defaced Winchester after this melancholy event. This author, who was the prodigy of his age for talents and learning, had the misfortune to inherit or acquire a sirname, Necham, which had the same sound with *Nequam*, (a bad man) hence he was constantly exposed to sarcastical puns, on this account. Being a native of the town of St. Alban's, he was at first desirous of of becoming a monk in the celebrated convent there, but the abbot having conceived some prejudice against him, was backward in accepting the offer which he made of himself to take the religious habit. Necham, tired with delays, at length wrote to him the following laconic epistle :—*Si vis, veniam. Sin autem; tu autem.*—The two last words being the conclusion of all lectures, &c. (Tu autem Domine miserere nobis) had the same meaning as, *adieu to you; I commend myself to God.* The abbot, who was not inferior in wit to the postulant, answered him, in his own style, as follows :—*Si bonus es, veni; si* NEQUAM, (alluding to Necham's name) *nequaquam.*—In this the abbot made a good clench, but a bad determination. For Necham, who offered himself with more success to the canons regular, turned out to be, not only a first-rate scholar, but also a most excellent and virtuous man, and died abbot of a convent of that order in Devonshire. Pitsius. De Illust. Ang. Scrip.

CHAP X.

Winchester repaired by Henry II. and the Citizens.—Receives many Marks of the Royal Favour.—The first City that was governed by a Mayor.—Character and Conduct of Bishop de Blois.—True Statement of the Dispute between Henry II. and Archbishop St. Thomas Becket.—Contention for Precedency between the Citizens of Winchester and London, at the Coronation of Richard I.—Acts of Beneficence by Bishop Godfrey de Lucy.—Ceremonial of the King's second Coronation at Winchester.—Charters granted to the City by King John.—Winchester the most ancient Corporation in England.—The Scene of John's disgraceful Vassalage to the Pope.—Besieged and taken by the French.—Errors of modern Writers concerning King John's Funeral.—Henry III. a native of Winchester, succeeds to the Throne.—Its Bishop, Peter de Rupibus, the young King's Tutor.—Conduct of that Prelate.—Disputes between the King and the Cathedral Monks, concerning the Election of his Successor.—Persecution of Bishop William de Raley.—The King forces the Monks to elect his Half-brother Ethelmar, an unworthy Clerk.—Bishops John Gervayse and Nicholas de Ely.—Benefits conferred on Winchester by Henry III.—The Citizens again dispute for Precedency with those of London.—Disrepute of Winchester, for the Crimes there committed.—A stop put to them by the inflexible Justice of the King.—Parliament held at Winchester against Foreigners.—A Civil War breaks out there.—The City taken and sacked.—Intestine Commotions.—Parliaments held there after the War.—General State of the City.

HENRY, who was indifferently called Plantagenet, from his father; Fitzempress, from his mother; and Short-Mantle, from a particular kind of garment which he was accustomed to wear; was kept out of his rightful inheritance barely a twelvemonth after the late pacification: Stephen dying in November 1154. (1) Within a month after this event, he landed from the Continent, and first of all came to our city, in order to receive the homage of the nobility, who were previously assembled here to pay the same to him. (2) He then proceeded to Westminster, in order to be crowned; (3) but returning hither soon after, (4) he found that bishop De Blois, who was under some apprehensions for the safety both of his person and his property, had gone abroad, with whatever money he could collect together. This conduct, for which perhaps there was no just ground, provoked the king to seize upon his three castles of Wolvesey, Walthan, and Merden, which he completely dismantled. (5) Afterwards the king and the prelate coming to a right understanding, the latter returned to his bishopric, and ever after continued with his royal cousin on the best terms. Henry spent much of his time in this city, the air of which he found beneficial to his health. (6) Accordingly one of his first cares was to rebuild the royal palace, (7) at the north west extremity of the city, which, we have said, was burnt down in the late civil wars. In this palace he made a bower, (8) upon the plan of that which he contrived

(1) Chron. Gerv. Dorob.

(2) "Congregatis, quos mare disperserat sociis, Wintoniam pervenit, ibique confluentium ad se principum fidelitates accepit." Idem.

(3) Idem. (4) Mat. Paris.

(5) Complanari fecit tria castella episcopi." Mat. Paris. ad. an. 1155.—This can only be understood of the ditches, barbican, and other out-works.—Rad. Diceto, in his Ymagines, Hist. says, the king destroyed all the bishop's six castles.

(6) In 1176, the king, being at Stansted, in Sussex, and finding himself unwell, came to Winchester for the sake of the air, "propter aeris serenitatem." Chron. J. Bromp.

(7) Trussel's MSS.

(8) For this circumstance we are indebted to Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. 1, who

for his mistress Rosamund, at Woodstock. (1) He also adorned it with numerous paintings; but ominously left one pannel, in the principal chamber, vacant, which was afterwards, with too much justice, filled by the subject for which he had designed it. (2) It was here, in 1166, that he summoned his council to deliberate, for the first time, upon the proposed invasion of Ireland; a measure which was unanimously approved of, (3) but laid aside for the present, at the earnest request of the king's mother, (4) whose military ardour, which had formerly distinguished itself so highly in this city, was now cooled by age and reflection. (5) The citizens and clergy, excited by the example of their sovereign, vied with each other in their efforts to repair the damages of the late war. Hyde-abbey, in particular, was rebuilt, and the abbot of it instituted a law-suit against the bishop, in order to make him account for the gold and silver, which he recovered from the ruins of their church, by the melting of the grand crucifix, that had been bestowed upon it by king Canute. (6) In short, the

quotes Robert of Gloucester for the fact. He says it was made at the castle: but by this expression we are to understand, not the castle of the city, but the king's new palace, which was built in that form, as all palaces then were.

(1) " Huic puellæ spectatissimæ fecerat rex apud Wodestoke mirabilis architecturæ cameram, operæ Dædalino similem, ne forsan a reginâ facilè deprehenderetur." Chron. Bromp. Hen. Knighton.

(2) " Contigerat in camerâ regis Wintoniæ multipliciter picturatâ, locum vacuum, jussu regis, relinqui, ubi rex postmodum aquilam, cum quatuor pullis insidentidus, depingi fecit, quorum tres unguibus & rostris parentem lacerabant, sed quartus paternis oculis eruendis acrius insistebat. Requisitus rex quid hoc prætenderet, ait; hi filii mei sunt, qui me, usque ad mortem persequi non cessabunt, sed potissime ille novissimus Joannes, quem modo cariùs amplector, neci meæ acriûs insudabit." Hen. Knighton, De Event. Ang. l. II. Chron. Bromp.

(3) Trussel's MSS. (4) Idem.

(5) This illustrious daughter of our Henry I. whose first husband was Henry, emperor of Germany, survived until the year 1186, when, dying abroad, she was honoured with the following epitaph, which for matter, brevity, and point, has hardly its equal:—

Ortu magna, viro major, sed maxima partu,
Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens. Mat. Paris. an. 1186.

(6) Annal. Wint. an. 1149.

city was completely rebuilt, and again was in a flourishing condition; though not in the same degree as during the reign of the Conqueror and his two sons. Still more to increase its consequence and prosperity, the king, at different times, granted to it certain valuable charters; (1) by one of which its chief magistrate was raised to a rank above all other municipal officers in the kingdom, it being ordained that Winchester should be governed by a mayor, with a subordinate bailiff; (2) a privilege which London did not obtain until the tenth year of king John. (3) Our first mayor was Florence de Lunn, his deputy or bailiff was John Russell. (4) In return for the many distinguished marks of the royal favour to them, the citizens insisted when the king of Scotland was upon a visit to our monarch here, and his four sons were all with him, upon the honour of entertaining him and his guests with a banquet, worthy of so illustrious a company; which offer Henry graciously accepted. (5) Many other proofs of his kindness towards Winchester are recorded in history. In 1172 his eldest son Henry, having married Margaret, daughter of Lewis the Young, king of France; and it being a ceremony due to her rank that she should be crowned queen of England, as the prince, her husband, had been crowned king of England some years before; Henry II. appointed that this ceremony should take place in our city. (6) In 1184 his daughter Maud, with her husband Henry duke of Saxony, coming to England, to pay her father

(1) There seems to be no doubt that the charter mentioned above, appertains to this reign; by one article of which, the citizens, belonging to the guild of Winchester, with all their merchandize, were made free of all duties and customs throughout the kingdom.

(2) Viz. in 1184. Trussel, MSS. who cites the records of the city extant in his time.

(3) In Stowe's Survey of London the first Mayor is placed at the beginning of Richard's reign, viz. in 1189; but Trussel and Sir Richard Baker prove, from Fabian and other authorities, that this privilege did not take place until the period mentioned above.

(4) Leger book, Wint. ap. Trussel. (5) Trussel's MSS.

(6) Mat. Paris. ad. an. 1172.—The Anonymous Historian of Winchester, vol. II, p. 56, places the christening of the king's eldest son in 1176, four years after the prince was married, and subsequent to many transactions, in which this very prince and also his younger brothers are described as bearing a part.

a visit, he received them in this city, and the duchess being with child, he gave up to her his palace here, where she was delivered of a son, who was christened by the name of William, (1) from whom the house of Brunswick and the present royal family descend. Here he also received Hugozin, the pope's legate, who he expressly desired might be sent to him on certain intricate affairs regarding his family; (2) as likewise Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the masters of the knights templars and hospitallers, who, in the aforesaid year 1184, came to offer him the kingdom of the holy city and country, and to present him with the keys of the sacred sepulchre; as also a consecrated banner, with the view of inducing him, who was then unquestionably the most powerful of all the Christian princes, to undertake a crusade. (3) He very prudently declined the honour that was offered him, but shewed every kind of respect to the ambassadors, both in this city, and elsewhere. Amongst other solemnities on this occasion, was a solemn procession in the cathedral; of which the king himself, the patriarch, and almost all the bishops and abbots of the kingdom, made part. (4) The scene of grandeur and prosperity, however, which has been just described, received a great check, by a misfortune similar to those which happened in the two former reigns. The king having ordered a new coinage to be made, which was accordingly issued throughout the realm in 1181; (5) whilst the workmen of the mint were employed in fabricating the coin, a fire broke out, which burnt down, together with the mint itself, the greater and more valuable part of the city. (6) This was probably the part to the south of the high-street, where the mint, guildhall, and other public offices stood.

(1) Mat. Westmon. an. 1184. (2) Rog. Hov. (3) Mat. Paris.

(4) "An. 1185. Venit patriarcha Jerosolimitanus in Angliam, receptusque fuit honorificè, apud Wintoniam, ad processionem, præsente tunc rege & fere episcopis & abbatibus totius Angliæ." Annal. Wint.

(5) Mat. Paris. an. 1181.

(6) "An. 1180. Accensa est monetaria in Wintoniâ, & egressus inde ignis consumit majorem partem & meliorem Wintoniæ." Annal. Wint.

We have repeatedly found occasion to mention the powerful prelate who governed this see, during the important period above described, namely, Henry de Blois, nephew of the Conqueror and brother of king Stephen. It was however to his uncle Henry I. that he owed his promotion from the government of Glassenbury-abbey to the episcopal throne of Winchester. He was certainly a man of great talents and many virtues, though with a mixture of some failings or vices; but having taken the unpopular side, in the civil war, the former have been too much depressed by most ancient writers, and the latter too much magnified. From this censure, must be excepted one contemporary writer and fellow bishop, who enlarges in the highest strains, not only upon his talents, birth, and power, but also upon his piety, regularity, and episcopal zeal. (1) Speaking of the works which he constructed for the benefit of his see, he says, that besides building the castles already mentioned, he made vast lakes, and constructed aqueducts, which were, in the beginning, conceived to be impracticable, (2) and that he collected all the most rare and wonderful productions of nature, (3) that could be met with; some of which, surpassing all belief, are specified by authors of credit. (4) He was a watchful guardian of his cathedral church and monastery, having recovered much property that had been unjustly alienated from them, and increased it by many presents of his own. (5) He likewise improved the fabric of his cathedral; and, in particular, he collected together the remains of the illustrious personages who had been there interred, into mortuary chests, which he disposed, in the most honourable manner, round the sanctuary. (6) He was no less liberal to the convent of Taunton, founded by his predecessor; (7) and, by a singular expedient, he became the benefactor of all the poor

(1) Giraldus Cambrensis. Copula Tergemina. Ang. Sac. vol. II.

(2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.

(4) Gulielmus Newbrigensis, Rer. Ang. l. II, c. XXVIII, says that he kept in his house a living dog, which had been found in a mass of solid stone, when sawn asunder.

(5) Girald. (6) Rudb.

(7) Godwin, De Presul. Nic. Harpsfield, Hist. Ecc. Ang.

parishes of his diocese. It had been decreed in a synod, at which he presided, that no chalices of tin, or other metal, except gold or silver, should be used at the altar: (1) and, whereas many priests in the country neglected to furnish their churches with such chalices, under the pretext of poverty; the next time a free gift or tax from the clergy was required, he ordered that each rector of a parish should, for his quotum, contribute one silver chalice, of a weight prescribed. These being brought in, he ordered them to be returned to the several parishes, and there made use of; undertaking himself to raise the sum necessary for the wants of the state. (2) His principal work, however, and that which has most contributed to perpetuate his memory in this city, was the foundation of the church and hospital of St. Cross, at a place where, in the time of the Saxons, a small convent had stood. (3) Here thirteen poor men were decently provided for, with necessaries of every kind; and one hundred others, the most indigent belonging to this populous city, each day were furnished with a plentiful meal. In the famous controversy which took place in his time between the king and the metropolitan, he disdained to barter the rights of his order and of religion itself (4) for

(1) Brompton. Gerv. (2) Girald. Camb. (3) Godwin, De Presul.

(4) It is unreasonable and unjust to decide on the merits of the controversy between Henry II. and the celebrated St. Thomas Becket, as is generally done, by the usages and opinions of the present day. To view it in its true light, we must transport ourselves back into the twelfth century. To begin with the first stage of this controversy: at the time we are speaking of, out of respect to sacred orders and to literature, the immunity of the clergy (that is to say of the regular students in every branch of learning whatever) was the established law of the land, and the first article in the charters and coronation oath, which Henry II. as well as his predecessors and successors signed and swore to; the advantages of which law, in such circumstances as then existed, may be found in Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws. This being so, was it not the duty of the metropolitan to guard and defend the privileges, belonging to a body of which he was the head and patron? Strange it is, that those very writers, who extol archbishop Simon Langton for extorting the same privileges from Henry's son, John, sword in hand on Runnimead, should so bitterly inveigh against primate Thomas, for defending them by mere spiritual weapons, and due course of law!—With respect to the constitutions of Clarendon, which form the second part of

the smiles of the court; and, in the end, he was applauded by the king himself for the conscientious part which he acted in this important business. (1) In the early part of his episcopacy, being already possessed of legatine power, which placed him in a rank above all the other prelates, whether bishops or archbishops, in the kingdom; he had formed a plan, which was approved of and nearly executed, for raising this ancient see to the metropolitical rank, (2) by subjecting to it all the six sees, (3) which had been taken out of it; making a seventh of Hyde-abbey: by which means this would have been far the most considerable of the three archbishoprics. However, the civil war in England, and the death of pope Lucius at Rome, frustrated this project. In his old age, this prelate increased his charities to such a degree, as hardly to leave himself and

of this dispute; some of these were not a bare infringement of privileges, granted by the state, but an alteration of the established religion of England, as it was then understood to be derived from its divine founder, particularly that which goes to exempt all the king's officers and tenants from ecclesiastical censures, without his permission first obtained. To consent to this, would have been a complete surrender of all spiritual jurisdiction, and would have put it in the power of the king's successors, though they should turn Pagans, to determine who should or who should not receive the sacraments of the church.—But, in the third place, the cause in which this prelate shed his blood, was of a more unmixed nature, and more demonstratively just than either of the above-mentioned. Four ruffians, without any authority whatsoever, real or alleged, rush upon him as he is performing his sacred functions at the altar of his cathedral, and, assuming to themselves the right of deciding, by the edge of their swords, upon an ecclesiastical cause, depending between the metropolitan and certain of his suffragans, require him to take off the spiritual censure, which he had pronounced upon the latter. *I cannot*, he replies, *without their complying with the conditions required by the canons in such cases.—Then you shall die*, they furiously exclaim.—*I am ready*, he answers, *to die in the cause of God and of his church*, and bows his head to their murderous weapons. Where shall we meet with a cause more evidently just, or defended with more heroism, tempered with Christian meekness? What civil magistrate who had died on the bench of justice, in similar circumstances and dispositions, would not have had statues erected to his memory? Vid. Chron. Gervas. Rog. Hov. Rad. Dicet. &c.

(1) Godwin. (2) Mat. West. ad. an. 1142. Rudb. Walsingham.

(3) These were Salisbury, Exeter, Wells, Chichester, Hereford, and Worcester.

his servants the means of procuring one slender meal in the day. (1) In addition to the loss of his sight, which he suffered with great resignation, (2) he added voluntary mortifications; (3) in the practice of which, and of constant prayer, he died in the year 1171, and was buried before the high altar in his cathedral. (4)

Henry, in opposition to his repeated engagements, but in conformity with his usual practice, kept this see vacant a long time, in order that he might, in the interim, receive the profits of it. At length, at the request of certain cardinals, (5) in 1173, he permitted the monks to proceed to an election, who chose Richard Toclive or of Ilchester, archdeacon of Poictiers. Nevertheless, he was not consecrated nor even ordained priest, until the following year. (6) He had pursued a different conduct from his predecessor, in the famous controversy mentioned above, and had taken so active a part against the persecuted primate, as to draw upon himself the sentence of excommunication. (7) But the latter's death in the manner above related, brought about that peace and uniformity of sentiments in ecclesiastical matters, which he could not procure in his life time. Toclive, after his promotion, seems to have been a zealous churchman, no less than an able magistrate, being appointed chief justice of the kingdom. (8) He at first endeavoured to improve the charitable institution of his predecessor at Sparkford, namely, the hospital of St. Cross; (9) but afterwards seems to have founded another, upon a similar plan, at an equal distance from the city, on the opposite side of it, which was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. (10) He died in the same year with his

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(1) Girald. Cam. (2) Harpsfield.

(3) Girald.—He had the satisfaction to entertain, for a long time, in his cathedral monastery, the famous St. William, archbishop of York.

(4) Rudb.—He left certain writings behind him, one concerning the discovery of king Arthur's monument, at Glassenbury, which took place whilst he was abbot there; another concerning the state of his cathedral, which appears to have been extant in the time of Harpsfield. (5) Godwin. (6) "Ordinati & consecrati." Annal. Wint. an. 1174.

(7) Rad. Dicet. Ymag. (8) Ibid. (9) Lowth's Life of W. W.

(10) See our Survey of Winchester, Part II.

royal master and patron, king Henry, viz. in 1189, (1) and was buried on the north side of the presbytery, in his cathedral, where his tomb, with an honourable epitaph to his memory, is still to be seen. (2)

Henry, whose dominions and power, though the most extensive in Europe, were not equal to his ambition, (3) at length died quite disgusted with the enjoyments of this life. (4) His son Richard, having attended his funeral, at the famous monastery of Font Evraud, hastened into England; and, as the royal treasury was still kept at Winchester, he made this his first place of resort. Here he caused his father's money and other valuable effects to be weighed, and an exact inventory of them to be taken; the amount of which exceeded the sum of 900,000l. in gold and silver, besides rich vessels, jewels, and precious stones. (5) He at the same time received here the homage of his nobility, on his accession to the throne. (6) He then made a tour to Salisbury, Marlborough, and other places; (7) in order to allow sufficient leisure for making the necessary preparations for his coronation, which he was resolved to have conducted with unusual magnificence.

This ceremony gave occasion to a contest, which was often renewed, concerning precedency, between the two rival cities of Winchester and London, on the following subject. It was an established rule, upon the coronation of a sovereign, for the chief nobility of the kingdom to attend, and perform certain honourable services, attached to their respective dig-

(1) N.S.

(2) Vid. ibid.

(3) He was accustomed to say that the world was not large enough to satisfy the mind of a noble-minded prince. Mat. Paris.—Hence the following line made part of his epitaph:—

Sufficit hic tumulus cui non suffecerat orbis.

(4) "In abyssum tristitiæ absorptus, maledicens diei, in quâ natus fuerat, & genituræ suæ, diem clausit extremum." Mat. West.

(5) "Statim autem dux, ut applicuit, Wintoniam veniens, fecit ponderari & in scriptum redigi omnes thesauros patris sui. Et inventa sunt plura quam nongenta millia librarum, in auro & argento, præter utensilia & jocalia & lapides preciosos." Mat. Paris.

(6) Trussel. (7) Ibid.

nities. (1) Amongst these haughty barons, the magistrates of these two cities were admitted, as their representatives, to fill two important offices; namely, to officiate as wine butler, and as clerk of the kitchen, at the coronation feast. The former of these offices was the more honourable, (1) and, from many circumstances, appears to have originally belonged to the citizens of Winchester. On the present occasion, however, the Londoners obtained the preference, probably in consideration of the sum they paid, (3) at obtaining certain charters, which were now granted to them. Thus the citizens of Winchester were obliged to be content with the inferior office of superintending the kitchen. (4) The fact is, they waved their claim, but did not surrender it, as we shall afterwards have occasion to observe. On the other hand, to prevent their being discontented, the new monarch presented them with an ample charter, confirming and enlarging the ancient privileges of their city. (5)

(1) One circumstance, particularly noticed by our historians on this occasion, is, that after the unctions and other ceremonies, when the crown was to be placed on the king's head, he himself took it off the altar, and delivered it to the archbishop, to prevent the idea of his deriving his crown from the gift of the church. This jealousy of the civil power will account for that of the church, with respect to investitures by the crosier and the ring.

(2) We learn from a Cottonian MS. quoted by Speed, Rich. II. that the perquisites of this office were the gold cup and waiter, which served for presenting wine to the king on this occasion. What was the perquisite of the other office does not appear.

(3) Stow's Survey of London.

(4) " Cives Londonienses servierunt de pincernariâ & cives Wintonienses de cocquinâ." Mat. Paris.

(5) Chart. Antiq. 1 Rich. I. N. 30. ap. Bohun. See Appendix.—By virtue of this charter, the citizens of Winchester, free of the guild thereof, were exempt from the obligation of pleading without their own walls, and from suffering the trial of duel. They were allowed to answer the pleas of the crown according to their ancient custom. They and their merchandize were exempt from all toll and custom throughout the kingdom, and every sea port in the king's dominions, as well on the other side of the sea as on this. They were not liable to be fined, beyond what was customary in former times. They were secured in all their property and rights. Certain royal duties were remitted to them, in order to keep the city in repair, and all their other privileges were confirmed to them. There seems, however, to be no privilege in this charter, which the citizens were not before possessed of.

Whilst our brave Cœur de Lion was asserting the cause of Christendom on the plains of Palestine, and forcing the proud Saladin, with his hitherto victorious Musselmans, to fly from the superior prowess of Englishmen; at a time when England itself, in general, was overrun with daring outlaws, under the command of the famous Robin o' th' Wood, or Hood, and London was convulsed by the sedition of the impostor, William Long-beard, at the head of 50,000 rioters; (1) our city was increasing in wealth and splendor, by the wise and beneficent measures of the prelate, who had worn its mitre since the death of Toclive, namely, Godfrey de Lucy, son of chief justice Richard de Lucy. Of these measures, the most important and useful to this city and the neighbouring country, was his restoring the navigation of the river Itchen, not only from the port of Northam, (the old Southampton), as far as Winchester; but also to the very head of that river, (2) in the neighbourhood of Alresford: where, by raising a vast mole or head, he formed a great lake, now called Alresford pond, by which means a vast quantity of marshy land in that neighbourhood was drained, and a reservoir of water was provided, for supplying the navigation. This vast and expensive work, which shews the greatness of bishop Lucy's genius, as well as of his beneficence, was not finished until the beginning of the following reign; when he obtained for himself and his successors the royalty of the said river, from the lake of Alresford, down to the sea; which his successors still enjoy, as likewise a charter for collecting certain duties upon this navigation. (3) He likewise purchased of the king, who was then setting out upon his crusade, certain estates for the benefit of his cathedral, which had belonged to it, before they were alienated by the Conqueror: (4) and for himself and the future bishops of

(1) Gul. Neubrig. l.v, c. xviii.

(2) Trussel's MSS.—"At the head of this water," says our author, in the passage here referred to, "the ancient family of the *Tichborne's*, before the conquest, had their habitation, and thence their denomination, by contraction of De Ytchingbocne (or of the Itching River) into Tichborne."

(3) See Appendix.

(4) Wargrave & Menes. Rog. Hov. Godwin.

this see, the custody of the royal castle, with the dignity and rights of earl of Winchester. (1) Godfrey did not, however, neglect the duties that more immediately belonged to his station. He completed and greatly enlarged the priory of Lesne or Westwood, in Kent, which had been established by his father; (2) and performed such repairs and works in his cathedral here, as to merit being numbered amongst its principal founders. The eastern end of the church, which was of Saxon workmanship, and had been suffered to remain by Walkelin, (3) must, by this time, have stood in need of repairs. Add to this, that a new style of architecture, the most solemn and best calculated of all others for religious structures, had now been discovered, and had reached its first stage of perfection. Our prelate accordingly determined to rebuild the aforesaid portion of his church, in what is now called the Gothic style; begining with a tower, (4) which seems to have stood over the present chancel, and continuing his work unto what was then the extremity of the Lady chapel. (5) For completing this great work he entered into a contract with a confraternity or society of workmen, who were bound to execute their undertaking within the space of five years. (6)

Our Cœur de Lion returned to England, not so much elated by the laurels which he had won on the walls of Acon, and in the fields of Palestine, as depressed by the accidental and unjust captivity, which he had endured in the dungeons of Trivallis, through the treachery of the duke

(1) Rog. Hov. (2) Godwin. (3) Annal. Wint. an. 1093.

(4) " An. 1200. Hoc anno inchoata est & perfecta turris Wintoniensis ecclesiæ."—This cannot be understood of the present tower, which, by all accounts, and by the style of its architecture, must have been finished a century earlier. Hence we must admit of a second tower, to the eastward of the former, which having subsisted in the time of the Saxons, was now rebuilt, and continued until bishop Fox rebuilt the whole of the presbytery.

(5) The style of the building bespeaks this period, and the following imperfect passage of Rudborne seems to confirm the above account:—" Ad altare B. Mariæ, ad finem, cum aliis *(alis,)* voltans."

(6) " D. Wintoniensis G. de Lucy constituit confratriam pro reparatione ecclesiæ Winton. duraturam usque ad quinque annos completos." Annal. Wint. an. 1202

of Austria. In short, he could hardly consider himself as a king, after having been a captive, without the ceremony of a new coronation, (1) which accordingly he appointed to be performed in this regal city. As certain circumstances of this solemnity tend to illustrate the antiquities of Winchester, and others are descriptive of the manners of the times, we shall give them at large, as they occur in an ancient historian of great credit.

" On the 14th day of April, in the year 1194, Richard left Woodstock, and arrived at Freemantle; the next day he came to the castle of Winchester, which he left on the 16th of April, after dinner, and retired to the priory of St. Swithun, (viz. the monastery of the cathedral church). Here he slept the ensuing night, and bathed himself; ordering, at the same time, his brother Geoffry, who was archbishop of York, not to have his cross carried before him, at the ceremony which was to take place the next day, for fear of a dispute between him and the archbishop of Canterbury on the subject. (2) As Geoffry was not allowed this honourable distinction, he refused to be present at the coronation. On the 17th of the said month, being the octave of Easter-day, there assembled together in St. Swithun's church, Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, John archbishop of Dublin, Hugh bishop of Durham, Richard bishop of London, Gilbert bishop of Rochester, William bishop of Ely, Sefrid bishop of Chichester, Henry bishop of Exeter, William bishop of Hereford, with the bishops of Worcester, St. David's, and Bangor, besides many abbots, clergymen, and a great multitude of people. Then king Richard, being clothed in his royal robes, with the crown upon his head, holding in his right hand a royal sceptre, which terminated in a cross, and in his left hand a golden wand, with the figure of a dove at the top of it, came forth from his apartments in the priory; being conducted on the right hand by his chan-

(1) " Apud Wintoniam in octavis paschæ, ignominiâ captivitatis deletâ, quasi novus rex solemniter coronatus est." Chron. Bromp.

(2) Winchester being in the province of Canterbury, it was not lawful for the archbishop of York to appear in public here, with the ensigns of his metropolitical authority.

cellor, the bishop of Ely, and on the left by the bishop of London. Before the king, marched in solemn procession the above-mentioned archbishops and other prelates, with the abbots, monks, and clergy; and after him came, in equal order, the earls, barons, military officers, and a great number of other lay persons of distinction. The silken canopy was held upon four lances over the king by four earls; namely, by Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk, William, earl of the Isle of Wight, and the earls of Salisbury and Ferrers: and the three swords of state, which were kept in the royal treasury, were carried, the first by William king of Scotland, the second by Hamelin, earl of Warren, and the third by Ranulph, earl of Chester. The Scottish monarch walked in the middle, having Hamelin on his right hand, and Ranulph on his left. The king being thus conducted into the cathedral, and up to the high altar, there fell upon his knees, and devoutly received the archbishop's solemn benediction. He then was led to the throne, which was prepared for him on the south side of the choir. In the mean time the dowager queen Eleanor, with the ladies her attendants, stood on the north side, directly opposite to him. The archbishop of Canterbury celebrated mass; in the course of which, the king was conducted in due state by his two assistants, the aforesaid bishops, to make his offering, and was brought back to his place in the same order. When mass was finished, the king was led back again to his apartments, with the solemnities that have been described above. He then laid aside his ponderous robes and crown, and put on other robes and a crown, that were much lighter; and so proceeded to dinner, which was served in the refectory of the monks. The archbishops and prelates, as likewise the king of Scotland and the lay earls and barons, had the honour of sitting at table with him; and every other person, who officiated at the ceremony, being placed in his proper rank and place, partook of the royal entertainment. On this occasion the citizens of London purchased of the king, for the sum of 200 marks, the privilege of performing the office of butlers, in opposition to the claim of the citizens of Winchester; who, in consequence of this, performed the service of the

kitchen. (1) The same day after dinner the king returned to his habitation in the castle." (2)

This pompous ceremony, however, not being new to the king, had lost its charms in his eyes, and he was far from shewing himself, to use the words of the poet, "as kind as kings on coronation day." (3) At his first arrival in the city, he began by dispossessing the cathedral of its two manors, and the bishop of the royal castle and county of Winchester, (4) which the latter had purchased of him, on the plea that the royal demesnes could not be alienated. The chagrin which this unexpected stroke occasioned in our prelate, accounts for his not even appearing in the splendid solemnity, that took place in his cathedral. During his stay here, Richard cited some of his nobles to appear before him, and imposed heavy fines on others, who had taken part with his brother John in certain late commotions. (5) One of his most loyal courtiers, Peter Rievallis, dying at this time in our city intestate, the king availed himself of his prerogative, and seized on all his effects, to a great amount. (6) Finally, he now also disobliged the king of Scotland, by refusing to let him purchase the fief of the county of Northumberland, with the castles belonging to it, which had been voluntarily surrendered by the bishop of Durham; this occasioned his cousin the king of Scotland, to leave our city, and return home in great anger and confusion. (7) From Winchester Richard moved to Waltham, and from thence to Portsmouth, where he embarked for the Continent, never more to return to England. Dying

(1) This fact of bribery seems to betray a bad cause, and to prove that the contested privilege belonged of right to the city of Winchester.

(2) Rog. Hov. Annales pars posterior. (3) Dryden's Hind and Panther.

(4) "Dissaisivit Godefridum Winton. episcopum de castello & comitatur Wintoniæ." Rog. Hov.—From the whole of this account is proved the error of Grose, Antiquit. vol. VIII. alias Supplem, who says that Richard I. committed the care of Winchester castle to Hugh, bishop of Durham. (5) Rog. Hov.

(6) Trussel's MS.—Geoffry Ridel, bishop of Ely, having also died intestate, four years earlier, at Winchester, the king seized upon all his effects. Hist. Eliensis. Ang. Sac.

(7) Rog. Hov.

of a wound which he received at the siege of Chaluz, in 1199, after the most heroical charity, exercised towards the bowman who wounded him, (1) he was buried at the feet of his father, at Font Evraud, in the very same robes and crown which he had worn at the above-described solemnity, in this our city. (2)

The nation was not deceived in the presages, which they had formed of the king who next mounted the throne, from his conduct to his father Henry, which was undutiful; to his brother Richard, which was disloyal; and to his nephew Arthur, which was treacherous and sanguinary. (3) John Lackland was, at the same time, avaricious and prodigal, tyrannical and pusillanimous, profane and superstitious. Yet it so happened, that the nation in general, and this city in particular, derived greater and more lasting advantages from his vices, than from the virtues of most of their other kings.

The first visit, which we read of his making to this city, was for the purpose of extortion; having summoned the chief men of the kingdom to meet him here, for this effect, in the beginning of the year 1207. (4) The tax which he now imposed was no less than a thirteenth of all moveable property; which fell so heavy on the subject, that many persons, and amongst the rest his brother Geoffry, archbishop of York, chose rather to leave the kingdom, than submit to the payment of it. (5) John seems to have resided the greater part of this year in our city, planning further schemes for accumulating money, which he afterwards put in execution, chiefly against those who were least able to defend themselves from injustice, the Jews and the different orders of religious. (6) Towards the end of this year his queen was delivered of a son, in this

(1) Rog. Hov. (2) Annal. Wint. 1199.

(3) " Cum postea rex occideret Arthurum, &c." Hen. Knighton, De Event. l. II, c. XIV.

(4) " Anno 1207 rex Joannes natale Domini celebravit apud Wintoniam, præsentibus regni magnatibus. Deinde, in Purificatione B. M. de rapinâ cogitans, & ponens spem in pecuniæ thesauris, cepit per totam Angliam 13 partem ex omnibus mobilibus & rebus aliis." Mat. West.

(5) Mat. Paris. Mat. West. (6) Mat. Paris. (6) Idem. Annal. Wint.

city, who was christened by the name of his royal grandfather, (1) and who is still known in history by the name of Henry of Winchester. It was not, however, so much out of affection for this city, where he was blessed with a son and heir, as in pursuance of the plan, on which he was now bent for raising ready money, by every means possible, that, soon after the aforesaid event, (2) he conferred upon it all the great and hitherto unprecedented privileges of a corporation; by virtue of which, our city became in a certain sense, a little independent state in the heart of the kingdom, the chief citizens electing their own magistrates, framing laws for their own government, and even collecting and applying to their own use, the royal issues, that had hitherto been collected by the sheriffs of the county, for the benefit of the crown. The fact is, the citizens purchased these Jura Regalia, as they were called, for the sum of 200 marks, once paid, and 100 marks per annum. (3) Thus Winchester became the first of all corporate cities or places in the kingdom, (4) in the strictest sense of the term; nearly two years before the present metropolis had even obtained the privilege of being governed by a mayor. (5) This charter, by which these Jura Regalia were conveyed, is unfortunately lost; but another charter, granted by this king to our city, about the same time with the former, has been recovered by the industry of a diligent antiquary in the last century. (6) In addition to all the immunities from toll, custom, fines, duels, trials out of their own walls, &c. which the citizens enjoyed by former charters, two new articles are men-

(1) Mat. Paris. Annal. Wint. (2) In 1208.

(3) Trussel's MSS.—He was a learned magistrate, and sometimes mayor of this city, who carefully examined its records near two centuries ago, when many evidences were in being, which now are lost.—This writer asserts, as facts, of which he had sufficient proofs, the particulars above stated; but the Anonymous Historian imposes upon the reader when he gives the same, between inverted commas, as if they were part of the original charter.

(4) Ibid. (5) See above, p. 221.

(6) Trussel.—See our Appendix, where the original text is given, which is translated in a very faulty manner by the Anonymous Historian. He also dates it erroneously, viz. in 1207, whereas Trussel, from whom he professes to take it, expressly says that it was granted in the ninth year of king John, or A.D. 1208.

tioned; by one of which a grant is made of two mills below the city, at a place called Coytbury, for the purpose of keeping it in repair; by the other it was ordained, that the royal mint and exchange of money should be for ever kept at Winchester, with all the privileges annexed to them. A few years after these charters were granted, the king being desirous of gratifying one of his most potent barons, who had formerly been one of his bitterest enemies, (1) namely, Saer de Quincey, created him earl of Winchester. (2)

Our city now became the scene of one of the most disgraceful transactions, both for church and state, that is recorded in history. Upon the death of archbishop Hubert, two persons were successively chosen to replace him, by the cathedral monks of Canterbury, in whom this right was vested; one of whom had the priority of election, the other the advantage of the king's support. (3) This cause being carried to Rome for decision, and no less than fourteen of the electing monks being present, to support one or other of the aforesaid claims; (4) the pope obliged them, as the representatives of their convent, to proceed to a third election, and to choose for their archbishop the celebrated Stephen Langton, who happened to be then at his court. The election being accordingly made, he himself consecrated Langton for the vacant see. This measure brought on a violent quarrel between the king and the pope, and both parties proceeded to the most unjustifiable lengths. The former wreaked his vengeance on the whole body of ecclesiastics and religious, within the realm; despoiling them of all their property, and depriving them of the very protection of the laws. (5) The latter, not content with putting the whole kingdom under an ecclesiastical interdict, (6) which lasted during the six years that this dispute

(1) "Oderat, (rex) quasi virus viperum, Saerum, de Quincey." Mat. Paris. an 1213.

(2) Viz. in 1215.—Trussell's MSS. Brook's Heraldry.

(3) Mat. Paris. Mat. West. (4) Hen. Knighton.

(5) He went so far as to applaud, instead of punishing, the murderer of a priest. At another time he caused three students of Oxford to be hanged, in revenge of a crime which one of their companions had committed, but of which they were quite innocent. Mat. Paris.

(6) During these six years no ecclesiastical function was allowed to be performed, except baptizing infants, and administering the sacraments to the dying. Mat. Paris.

continued, and with excommunicating the king, by name; at length proceeded so far out of his own province, as to pretend to absolve the subjects of this kingdom from their allegiance to John, and to authorise the king of France to make a conquest of England. (1) This measure, however unjust, and of itself empty, in the particular circumstances in which John was placed, produced its intended effect. The latter was frightened into the most abject submission, and had the meanness to accept of the alarming terms which the pope's agent, Pandulph, had the insolence to propose. These were no less than absolute vassalage and tribute on his own part, and on that of his subjects, to the court of Rome. (2) By thus endeavouring to elude the prediction, which so much terrified him, of the famous Yorkshire hermit, Peter, (who foretold that the king would lose his crown before a certain day) he strictly fulfilled it. (3) Such at least is the general remark of our ancient historians, who universally prove a true English spirit, in describing the conduct both of the Roman pontiff and of the English monarch, in these important transactions. (4) The disgraceful negociation began indeed at Dover, where the king laid his crown and his treasures at the feet of Pandulph; but it was finally concluded in our city, where John was absolved from his excommunication, and where he ratified the terms which he had before agreed to. Pandulph had returned to the Continent, and in his place came over archbishop Langton, and the bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, together with a great number of other persons of the laity, as well as the clergy, who had been sufferers in the late dispute. (5) The prelates repaired from Dover, where they landed, to Winchester, the king then residing there, who hearing of their approach to the city, went out to meet them, on the downs of Magdalen-hill, (6) where, at the sight

(1) Mat. Paris. Mat. West. (2) Iidem.

(3) " Resignavit igitur coronam Angliæ Innocentio papæ, & ei fecit homagium, & fecit de liberrimâ regione ancillam, ut princeps provinciarum fieret sub tributo; chartam inde conficiens lugubrem & detestabilem." Mat. West. an. 1213.

(4) " (Rex) De libero factus est servus." Hen. Knighton, De Event. Mat. Paris, &c.

(5) Iidem. (6) Trussel's MSS.

of them, he fell upon his knees, and shed many tears.(1) This had the effect of melting the whole company, who mingled their tears with his. The prelates raising him from the ground, now marched in mournful procession, repeating the 50th psalm, (2) to the western door of the cathedral; where a great number of distinguished personages joined them in weeping and praying. They did not, however, yet enter into the church, this being unlawful, in the predicament in which the king stood, of an excommunicated person; but, after some time, proceeded to the monks' chapter-house, where he was absolved in due form. (3) The king, on his part, swore upon the holy gospels, that he would annul all unjust laws, and revive the equitable laws of St. Edward. (4) He also again renewed the fealty and homage which he had sworn to the pope. (5) The first part of this oath was what he owed to his people, and well it would have been for him had he observed it; the latter was an act of treachery to them, and of dishonour to himself. (6)

All this, however, was hypocrisy, or at most a passing disposition, on the part of John. His conduct to his subjects became tyrannical and flagitious, beyond all example in this country. Hence his most powerful barons were soon up in arms against him, and our city, amongst others, fell into their hands. (7) This confederacy, chiefly through the address of archbishop Langton, (8) is productive of Magna Charta; which our faithless monarch signs indeed upon Runnimead, but pays no more attention to in his conduct, than he had done to his former engagements. Tired out

(1) Mat. Paris.

(2) Alias the 51st psalm.

(3) Annal. Wint. Mat. Paris.

(4) Iidem.

(5) Iidem.

(6) " Omnia fecit in suo velle nec voluit legis formam servare." Hen. Knighton, De Event. l. II. c. IV.—" More odibili magnatum uxores & dominas concupivit, deridendo maritos, post perpetrata mala. Quod extitit principium & origo guerræ." Knighton.

(7) Idem.

(8) Mat. Paris.

with a succession of evils, springing from a bad government, the nobles, very unwisely, fly to a much greater; that of inviting armed foreigners amongst them. In short, young Lewis lands; and John, unable to rely on his troops, flies to this city for safety. (1) Here he erects the royal standard of the dragon, as if he meant to give battle to his enemies; (2) but, upon their approach, he appoints Savaric de Maulcon, to be his governor of Winchester, and retires to Gloucester. Savaric remains not long behind his master, but setting fire to the city, abandons it to young Lewis; (3) who takes possession of it, together with the royal castle, and that of the bishop, and commits great depredations and ravages in them. (4) The other castles of the county follow the example of its capital, and surrender at the first summons. Only Odiham castle, with a garrison of three soldiers and ten labouring men, makes a gallant defence against a whole army for the space of fifteen days. (5) Thus did this and the whole neighbouring country become a province of France, which it would probably still have continued, but for the unexpected event of the king's death; who died of a broken heart, at Newark, and was buried, by his own desire, in Worcester cathedral. (6)

(1) Mat. West.

(2) J. Stow.

(3) Annal. Wint.—The Anonymous Historian of Winchester, vol. II, p. 69, says, that the castle held out for the king, and that Lewis was unable to reduce it.—These assertions are in direct opposition to original writers. See Mat. Paris, Annal. Wint. Knighton, &c.

(4) Trussel's MSS.

(5) Mat. Paris.

(6) A late topographer, whose chief boast is, that the city, which he celebrates, is possessed of the remains of the worst of our sovereigns, has fallen into various errors on this his favourite subject, as well as on many others. These, however, are not so unpardonable in an antiquary, as his perpetually holding up to the unmerited ridicule of the present age, the sentiments and conduct of men in past ages, whose memory it was his peculiar duty to protect. He is never satisfied with repeating his calumnies on the subject of king John's funeral.—"On the skull (of king John) was found the celebrated monk's cowl, in which he is recorded to have been buried, as a passport through the regions of purgatory." See an account of the discovery of the body of king John, by Valentine

Upon the death of John, his son Henry, a native of Winchester, then only nine years of age, succeeded to the throne. Contrary to former

Green.—" To be buried in a mônk's cowl was deemed in those days a good passport through purgatorial regions." Hist. of Worcester, by Valentine Green, vol. 1, p. 157.—" It was considered that the remains of king John partook of the reverence paid to the Holy Virgin, and that they received additional sanctification, in being left undisturbed before her altar, and between the sepulchres of the saints Oswald and Wulstan." Ibid. p. 59.—" The cowl of a monk, was deemed by king John to be a helmet of salvation for him in a future state." Ibid. p. 73.—What a mass is here of ignorant and illiberal abuse, calculated to represent the piety of our ancestors as more stupid, and of a more immoral tendency, than the mythology of their Pagan ancestors; and much less warranted or excusable than the sexton's tale of king John being poisoned by St. Oswald and St. Wulstan, which the same author ridicules in his preface, p. xvi. But 1st, Mr. G. who writes so much about monk's cowls, proves himself not to know what a cowl is. He supposes it to be a mere hood, covering the skull. Upon enquiry, however, he will find it to be a large garment, which covered the whole, or almost the whole body.—2dly, The writer is here challenged to produce the record which he speaks of, as signifying that the cowl was " a passport through the regions of purgatory;" or, instead of it, to bring forward the decree of some synod, or the writings of some divine or schoolman, intimating such an absurd dogma. Had this opinion been that of the age, as our writer says it was, we should not fail to find it in the Master of Sentences, the Sum of St. Thomas Aquinas, and other such works, written about this period, and of course every corpse would have been buried in a monk's cowl, no less than king John's.—Lastly, This writer, before he spoke of the " reverence and sanctification," which, he says, king John partook of from the place of his interment, and of " the helmet of salvation, in a future state, which he describes him as wearing; ought to have examined what were the real sentimenis of the age concerning the state of the deceased monarch's soul. The following line makes part of an epitaph, which Matthew Paris says was composed for him, and which he intimates was actually put upon his monument:—

Hunc mala, post mortem, timor est ne fata sequantur.

He gives another epitaph, composed on the occasion, still more severe:—

Anglia, sicut adhuc sordet fœtore Joannis,
Sordida fœdatur, fœdante Joanne, gehenna.

The latter our good monk condemns as too profane. On the contrary, he expresses hopes, (not that the cowl of his order will prove a helmet to salvation of the deceased, but) that the " few good works which he did in his life time would plead for him at the tribunal of Christ." Another monk, Matthew of Westminster, describes him as dying the death of a reprobate, " maledicens & non valedicens omnibus baronibus suis;" and the canon of Lei-

precedents, he was anointed and crowned king in the city of Gloucester, and our bishop, Peter de Rupibus, assisted by John of Bath, performed the ceremony, (1) in the presence of Gualo, the pope's legate, and a number of faithful English barons. The cause of this singularity was, that Westminster, Winchester, and the whole south of England, were in the enemy's power, and that archbishop Langton was then one of their partisans; in consequence of which he was suspended by our prelate, in the name of the pope. By the prudent and active measures of our bishop, and of William, earl of Pembroke, who was guardian of the king's person, and protector of the realm; (2) the royal cause gained strength, and that of Lewis declined daily, until the latter was obliged to decline the contest, and to withdraw from the kingdom. At the end of four years, young Henry, holding his court at our city, with William, earl marshal, that most worthy and accomplished nobleman sickened and died; (3) upon which bishop Peter, with the approbation of the nobility, succeeded to his charge. (4) By this means he became, in a manner, possessed of the whole royal authority, and the importance of this city was, of course, greatly increased.

This prelate had succeeded Godfrey de Lucy in the see of Winchester, through the favour of the late king, A. D. 1204. He was by birth a native of Poitou, and had merited the honour of knighthood from king Richard, whom he had served in his wars with fidelity and talents. (5) Hence he was generally thought, by his education and past conduct, to

cester speaks of a good clerk, who being anxious for the soul of his royal master, continued praying for a token of his state, until he received one of the most melancholy nature. De Event. Ang. l. II.

(2) Some writers say that Gualo crowned the king, but the account of Mat. Paris, which we have adopted, seems to be far the best grounded.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Mat. Paris. Mat. West. ad. an. 1219.

(4) "Rex in custodiâ Petri Wintoniensis remansit." Mat. West.

(5) "Vir equestris ordinis." Mat. Paris.

be better qualified to command an army than to preside over a diocese. (1) In this exalted station it was impossible that he should not have some rivals and enemies, from mere jealousy; but he increased their number by his own conduct, which was more honest than politic. The exigencies of the state requiring a large supply of money, he advised his royal pupil, instead of extorting money from the hard hands of the poor, to resume a great number of valuable grants, which, with a boyish levity, he had distributed amongst his courtiers. (2) But what was still more imprudent and fatal to him; he betrayed so great a partiality for his own countrymen, that they engrossed almost every place of honour or profit. (3) Amongst the most active of the bishop's enemies was the famous Roger Bacon, then one of the king's chaplains; but who afterwards became a Franciscan friar, and distinguished himself, in so eminent a degree, for his skill in mathematics. This able man, both in his sermons (4) and in his private interviews, endeavoured to prejudice the royal youth against his guardian and minister. On a certain occasion he took an opportunity of asking the king *what things he thought a prudent pilot, in steering a ship, was most afraid of?* the latter replying *that Roger himself, who had made many voyages, could best answer that question; certainly*, says he, *they are stones and rocks*, (Petræ and Rupes) alluding to the two names of our prelate. (5) In short, his enemies, and principally the chief justice, Hugo de Burg, succeeded in supplanting him in Henry's favour. The consequence was, that he retired abroad in 1227, and made an expedition to the Holy Land; where, by his prudent counsels, he rendered the greatest services to the emperor Frederic, and the Christian cause. (6) Returning home in 1231, he was received in solemn procession by the monks and clergy of his cathedral, (7) which honour had also been paid to the king, and the metropolitan Richard in his absence. (8) Being shortly after visited

(1) "In negotiis plus bellicis quam scholasticis eruditus." Mat. West.
(2) Polydore Verg. (3) Mat. Paris. (4) Pitsius, De Scrip. Ang.
(5) Mat. Paris. (6) Ibid. (7) Mat. West. (8) Viz. an. 1230. Annal. Wint.

in this city by his former pupil, he soon regained his influence over him, (1) which he held about two years, when the royal indignation was so powerfully excited against him and his principal agents, Peter de Rivallis and Stephen Segrave, that the two former found it necessary to fly to the cathedral, and the latter to the church of St. Mary's nuns, in this city, for the protection of their persons. (2) The bishop, however, once more recovered the kings favour; and being sent for abroad by the pope, he, with his usual talents and dexterity, extricated him from his difficulties, and obtained the highest confidence of the emperor and other princes on the Continent. (3) Finding his health decline, he returned home, and died in his palace of Farnham, in 1233; to the irreparable loss, says a cotemporary historian, (4) both of church and state. He was buried in the cathedral, according to his own directions, with the utmost privacy. (5) It might be expected that a life, so much devoted to exterior and public concerns, would have left no leisure for the peculiar duties of his station; and it is certain that his metropolitan, St. Edmund Rich, made some reproaches to him of this nature: nevertheless, he was upon the whole, a zealous and edifying prelate, and left several monuments of his piety to future ages. One of these was the convent of the Dominican friars, which he founded near the east gate of this city; (6) a second was an hospital, called God's-house, at Portsmouth; a third was the Norbertin abbey of Titchfield; a fourth, the priory of canon regulars, at Selbourn. (7) He was also instrumental in the foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Edwardstow or Letly, (8) near Southampton. All these were in his own diocese; besides which he founded three or four other religious houses, in different parts of the kingdom, and one at Joppa, in the Holy Land. (9)

(1) Mat. West. (2) Idem. (3) Mat. Paris. (4) Idem. (5) Idem.
(6) Godwin. Speed. Harpsfield. (7) Mat. Paris.
(8) Godwin.—Letley, i. e. de Læto Loco, improperly called Netley.
(9) Godwin.—N.B. The year before this bishop's death a whale was cast upon the shore at Millbrook, and was adjudged to belong to the monks of our cathedral, to which that manor was annexed.

The death of this illustrious prelate was peculiarly detrimental to our city, as it produced a violent and disastrous contention between the king and the succeeding bishop. The former was inflexibly bent upon having William of Valentia, the uncle of his new married queen, elected to this dignity. (1) The monks, who had heard that William was a man, not only ambitious, but also sanguinary, (2) stood upon their right, and persisted in refusing to choose him. By way, however, of compounding with the king, whose indignation they dreaded, they successively elected two of his ministers and favourites, William de Raley, bishop of Norwich, and Ralph Nevill, bishop of Chichester. (3) These attempts, however, had no other effect than that of causing him to discard, from his service, both these prelates. The dispute continued during the space of five years, though William of Valentia, who had been the occasion of it, died in the first year after its commencement. The monks felt the weight of the king's resentment, he seizing upon their temporalities, and punishing them with stripes, imprisonment, and famine. (4) Nevertheless, they continued to defend their freedom of election; and meeting privately, for the third time, their two former elections having been invalidated at Rome, they once more chose the person who had been the first object of their wishes, William de Raley. This prelate having at length, in the year 1243, procured his translation to be ratified by the pope, repaired to this city, for the purpose of executing his pastoral duty; but found all the gates of it, by command of the king, shut against him: nor could all the sermons which he preached, going bare-footed round the walls, induce the magistrates and citizens, who heard him from the upper part of them, to admit him within their precinct. (5) At length having stationed himself at King's-gate, he there fulminated an interdict upon his cathedral, with the other churches of the city, and an excommunication against the mayor and bailiffs, with those monks and clerks, who opposed his entry. (6) After that, conceiving his life to be in

(1) Mat. West. (2) "Vir sanguinum esse dicebatur." Mat. Paris. (3) Mat. Paris.
(4) Idem. an. 1250. (5) Mat. Paris. Mat. West. (6) Annal. Wint. Mat. Paris.

danger, he withdrew into France; where, we are informed, it became a common saying, that our *Henry was a coward towards his enemies, and only brave against his bishops.* (1) The following year, however, peace was restored, notwithstanding the opposition of a worthless ecclesiastic, Henry de Seusa, master of St. Cross; (2) the bishop being permitted to take possession of his diocese, and the censures being taken off from those persons who had been involved in them. The king even condescended to dine with the bishop, and gave him the kiss of peace. (3) Two years after this, viz. in 1246, our prelate performed, in the presence of the king, queen, and other illustrious personages, the magnificent ceremony of dedicating the royal abbey, in the adjoining forest, so justly called *de Bello Loco*, or Beaulieu, (4) which the late king, in a fit of devotion, began to build for the Cistercian monks, whom he had before so grievously oppressed. William de Raley going abroad upon certain business, died at Tours, in 1250, having received the last rites of the church, with circumstances of the most edifying devotion, (5) and was buried there, in the cathedral of St. Martin. (6)

We may judge how high a value Henry set upon the bishopric of Winchester, by the pains which he took, at the different vacancies of it, during his reign, to procure it for his greatest ecclesiastical favourites. It is probable that he had earlier notice of the late bishop's death than the monks, and therefore took all the precautions in his power to prevent their being before hand with him in the election of a successor. For this purpose he sent down in haste to the cathedral two of his chaplains, to stop all proceedings for the present, and followed them thither in person soon after. Having assembled the monks in the chapter-house, he preached to them a formal sermon, from the text, *Justice and Peace have kissed;* the purport of which was to induce them to elect his half-brother, Ethel-

(1) Mat. West (2) Mat. Paris. (3) Idem.
(4) Mat. Paris. Annal. an. 1246. (5) Mat. Paris. Godwin.
(6) Annal. Wint.

mar, (1) for their bishop. One part of his sermon, in which he makes honourable mention of this city, deserves to be here transcribed. "I lately," says he, "have been very severe upon you, in order to satisfy my wife, who was desirous of advancing her uncle, William de Valentia, to this bishopric; but as destruction came into the world by a woman, so the remedy of the same came also by a woman. I now come to propose, for your bishop, the son of my mother, queen Isabella; by choosing whom, an entire reconciliation will be effected between us, and it will become my study to promote your interests, and those of your church. If you are insensible to other motives for obliging me, you cannot certainly forget that I was born in this city, and baptized in this cathedral. As this circumstance endears you to me, so it merits a return of affection and obedience towards me on your part." (2) He concluded his discourse with very significant threats of his vengeance, in case of their non-compliance. (3) The monks now retiring, and being shut up together in a chamber, with heavy hearts, began to reflect upon what they had heard, and upon their present situation. They saw that Ethelmar was destitute of every necessary qualification for the prelacy. He had neither morals nor literature, nor previous orders, nor even a canonical age to recommend him; (4) but, on the other hand, they considered all the evils which had fallen upon the whole city, as well as upon themselves, by refusing to gratify the king in a former instance. (5) Nevertheless, what chiefly influenced them in the step which they took, was the certain knowledge they had, in voting contrary to the king's inclinations, they should not be supported by the pope, who was then Innocent IV; but that he would certainly be brought over by the king, to whatever measures the

(1) Isabella, relict of the late king, married Hugh, earl of March, by whom she had five sons, of whom our Ethelmar, or Audomar, was the fourth.

(2) Mat. Paris.

(3) On this subject our historian quotes that line of the poet:—

Stricto supplicat ense potens.

(4) He was only 23 years of age, and in minor orders. (5) Mat. Paris.

latter was bent upon. (1) In conclusion, with "assenting voices, but repugnant hearts," (2) they voted as the king wished them to do. This election being confirmed by the pope, Ethelmar became possessed of the spiritual and temporal authority of the bishopric. The monks were not deceived in the presages which they had formed of their new prelate's administration. He conducted himself with so much injustice and tyranny towards them, that a great number of them left the cathedral, and fled to other monasteries of their order. (3) The prior, however, William of Taunton, hastened to Rome, there to accuse the bishop elect of his irregular and uncanonical conduct, particularly in turning him out of his office, and substituting in his place a creature of his own, one Andrew of London. (4) It appears that the cause of the prior, which was that of justice, met with support. He was honourably restored, and even invested by the pope with the ensigns of a prelate, the mitre, the ring, and the crosier; (5) a privilege which was to descend to his successors, the priors of St. Swithun, in this city, and which was very rarely granted to any religious under the rank of an abbot. In the end, an assembly of the nobility being held at Winchester, Ethelmar, with his two brothers, whose insolence and oppressions were felt in other parts of the kingdom, as well as in this, was driven into banishment. (6) All this time the bishop elect had deferred his consecration, or rather it seems to have been deferred by order of the pontiff. (7) In consequence of this long delay, or of some other canonical fault, his election became void, and the monks proceeded to a new election; which

(1) Here our zealous monk exclaims: "O papa, patrum pater, ut quid permittis Christianorum climata talibus inquinari? Meritò igitur ab urbe & sede pulsus propriâ, tanquam profugus alter Chaim, cogeris exulare." Mat. Paris. ad. an. 1250.

(2) Mat. West. an. 1254.

(3) Mat. West.—Amongst other acts of oppression, he once confined them three whole days in the church, without any food. This caused them to exclaim: *It is with just cause we suffer this, because, fearing the wrath of man more than of God, we raised this unworthy youth to the power which he so much abuses.*

(4) Annal. Wint. Mat. Paris.

(5) Annal. Wint. an. 1254.

(6) Annal. Wint. an. 1258. Mat. Paris.

(7) Godwin.

measure the king himself does not appear to have opposed, being by this time sensible of the unworthiness of his brother. (1) They chose Henry Wengham, his chancellor, who, however, refused to accept of the bishopric in such intricate circumstances, (2) and was soon after made bishop of London. At last, in the year 1260, Ethelmar is said by some authors to have succeeded in procuring himself to be consecrated at Rome, and to have been on the point of returning to take possession of this see; when he was overtaken by the divine justice at Paris, where he died, and was buried, in the church of St. Genevieve, (3) after ordering his heart to be conveyed to this cathedral, (4) the monument of which is still there to be seen. (5)

The see, again vacant, once more became a subject of contestation, not between the monks and the king, he not appearing now to take any part in the election, but amongst the electors themselves. William of Taunton, their former prior, who was afterwards made abbot of Middleton, (6) being removed, Andrew of London had been again forced upon the monks, by his patron Ethelmar. (7) In this situation he had an opportunity of gaining a few partisans in the community, who, to the number of seven, gave their votes for him to be their bishop. The rest, to the number of fifty-four monks, with the deputy archdeacon of Surry at their head, chose their former prior, William of Taunton. (8) The matter being litigated before the pope, he set aside both the candidates; and appointed, by way of provision, as it was called, and consecrated bishop of this see, John de Gervayse, or of Exon, who had been chancellor of York. (9) One of his first concerns, on taking possession of it, was to inflict the due punishment (10) upon the turbulent prior, Andrew of London. Not content with deposing him, he caused him to be confined at Hyde-abbey, from whence,

(1) Mat. West. (2) Godwin. (3) Annal. Mat. Paris. Mat. West.
(4) Godwin. (5) See our Survey, Part II.
(6) Annal. Wint. (7) Ibid.
(8) Ibid. an. 1260. (9) Mat. West.
(10) "Andreas prior, suis meritis exigentibus, captus apud abbatiam de Hidâ incarceratur." Mat. West.

having effected his escape by artifice, he pretended that he had been delivered by a miracle; and hypocritically hung up at Canterbury the fetters which he had worn, in proof of the pretended prodigy. (1) John de Gervayse, taking part with the barons who were in arms against the king, was on this account suspended from his ecclesiastical functions, by the legate Ottobone. (2) This occasioned him to take a journey to Rome, where he died A.D. 1268, and was buried at Viterbo. (3)

The late bishop having died, *in curia*, (4) or at the court of Rome, the appointment of his successor, by the ancient ordinances of the canon law, belonged of right to the pope. (5) He seems to have made a proper use of his prerogative on this occasion, by translating from the see of Worcester, to this more important diocese, Nicholas of Ely, a prelate who deserved a great character, both for his public and private virtues. The greatest difficulty which he met with, in the discharge of his duty, was from the arts and violence of the deposed prior Andrew, who has been mentioned more than once. This scandalous monk returning to Winchester, and being unable otherwise to obtain admittance into the cathedral church and monastery, made an attack upon them with an armed force; (6) having previously gained several partisans, both in the convent and in the city. At length, the king found himself under the necessity of sending two of his judges, with a special commission, to protect the bishop, and to preserve the peace of the city. (7) This prelate was a special friend and benefactor to the Cistercian abbey of Waverley, near Farnham, the first house of that order which was founded in England. The church there being rebuilt in his time, he performed the dedication of it in 1278, with great solemnity; and entertained entirely at his own cost, the numerous company

(1) Annal. Wint. (2) Mat. West.

(3) Annal. Wint. (4) Annal. Wint. an. 1268.

(5) See the example of St. Theodore, A.D. 668, appointed by pope Vitalian to the see of Canterbury, on the death of Wigart, who had been named to it, but died at Rome, waiting for his confirmation. Bede, Hist. Ecc. l. iv, c. i.

(6) Annal. Wigornensis, an. 1274. (7) Ibid.

who flocked to it during the octave of that festivity. On the day itself of the dedication, the number of guests, amongst whom were many persons of distinction, consisted of between seven and eight thousand. (1) Two years after this ceremony, bishop Nicholas departed this life; and, according to his own desire, his body was buried in the church of Waverley, and his heart deposited in his cathedral, as an inscription there, on the south side of the presbytery, testifies. (2)

Having gone through the list of bishops, who governed the see of Winchester in the present reign, we shall now consider the other transactions relating to this city, during the same period. Henry was never unmindful of the natural tie, which connected him with the place of his birth. In the early part of his reign, he granted the citizens a confirmation of all their privileges; (3) and, as their annual fair on St. Giles's-hill was the most celebrated and the richest in all the kingdom, abounding with foreign, as well as home commodities, and being resorted to from distant parts of the Continent, as well as from every part of England, he enlarged the grants of his predecessors, by extending it to the full term of sixteen days. (4) This was unquestionably a general advantage to the city, though the bishop, who received the tolls arising from it, was more immediately benefited by it. Henry added a new religious foundation to those which this city already possessed, that of the Franciscan friars, (5) for whom he built a convent upon the Brooks. (6) He was also the first sovereign who granted to the corporation of Winchester a common seal; (7) and he continued the mint in this city. Hence, the current coin of the kingdom being clipped to almost half its size, (8) he caused a new coinage to be

(1) Annal. Wigorn.
(2) See our Survey, Part II.
(3) Trussel's MSS.
(4) See our Survey. St. Giles's-hill.
(5) Speed. Harpsfield. Parkinson.
(6) See our Survey.
(7) Trussel's MSS.
(8) " Eodem tempore moneta esterlingorum, propter sui materiam desiderabilem cæpit deteratiori & corrumpi per illos falsarios monetarum, quos tonsores appellamus; adeo ut

executed here, commanding (1) all the former coin to be cried down, (2) or only taken in exchange for the new, according to its weight. This inconvenience, though unavoidable, caused much murmuring, and some distress. (3) It appears that the same frauds were practised at this time in France; to repress which, the French king condemned those who were convicted of them, to be hanged and gibbeted. (4)

Henry very frequently wore his crown in state on solemn occasions, and passed much of his time in this city. (5) It is probable that the palace, built by the last monarch of his name, had been burnt down, or had fallen into ruins, as he himself now resided in the city castle. This appears by his being sometimes obliged to leave Winchester, in order to make place for the itinerant judges. (6) He and his royal consort, as likewise his son Edward, seem to have shewn great condescension and regard towards the different religious communities of the city. The successive abbesses of St. Mary were expected to wait upon him at the castle. (7) On one occasion we find the queen presenting herself before the chapter of the monks, in order to be admitted into what was called their confraternity; (8) and when the king and the prince, at a certain time, were at variance, they appear to have referred the subject of it to the prior and monks of the cathedral, as they met together, and were reconciled in the chapter-house. (9) With respect to the magistrates and community of Winchester, if he wanted the courage to restore them to their ancient

vix interiori circulo nummi parcendo, limbum literatum totaliter asportarent." Mat. Paris. an. 1247 and 1248.

(1) An. 1248.—"Nova moneta fabricata est, apud Wintoniam post octavas Epiphaniæ." Annal. Wint.

(2) Mat. Paris. (3) Ibid.

(4) "Jussit tales compertos patibulis laqueatos vento presentari." Ibid.

(5) Mat. Paris. Annales Wint. passim.

(6) "An. 1273. Recessit D. Henricus rex de Wintoniâ post Epiphaniam, quia justiciarii itinerantes sedere debebant ibi. Annal. Wigorn.

(7) Annal. Wint. an. 1265.

(8) Ibid. 1242. (9) Ibid. 1258.

rank and precedency, yet he refused to countenance their being deprived of them, as his two last predecessors had done. We have mentioned the dispute between the citizens of our city and of London, concerning the right of officiating as wine butlers, whenever the king wore his crown. There can be no doubt of the Wintonians obtaining their just privileges, within their own walls, during the reign of their native king; since we have positive proof of their disputing it with the Londoners on their own ground. The king was unwilling to disoblige either party; and though the occasion was to him one of the most solemn of his reign, that of translating the body of St. Edward the Confessor, who was his patron saint, from before the altar at Westminster to his present shrine behind it, when all the chief nobility of the kingdom were present: yet, contrary to all rule, he determined not to wear his crown at all, but commanded the representatives of both cities to take their places at the royal entertainment. This injunction the men of Winchester complied with, but those of London returned home with stomachs empty of food, but full of bile. (1)

The most important service, however, that Henry rendered o his native city, was his breaking the illegal and scandalous associations of pilferers and robbers, with which it was infested; and restoring its character, which was greatly debased in other parts of the kingdom. This, however, was not effected without a temporary disgrace, which, as it has been varnished over by former writers, (2) shall be here fairly stated from

(1) "An. 1269. Sanctus Edwardus a veteri feretro in novum translatus est presente D. Henrico rege, qui secundum edictum suum coronam portare disposuit, sed non portavit. Unde vendicantibus sibi jus et consuetudinem de pincernariâ Wintonæ & Londoniæ civibus noluit D. rex ut quis eorum serviret, propter discordiam et periculum quod posset imminere; sed jussit utramque partem discumbere. Unde Londonienses indignantes recesserunt: Wintonienses vero remanserunt, comedentes & bibentes in curiâ: et cum licentiâ D. regis recedentes remearunt ad propria." Annal. Wigorn.

(2) See the Anonymous History of Winchester, vol. II, pp. 71, 72, where many circumstances are concealed, and others added, to screen the character of this city; which, it must be confessed, was at this period exceedingly scandalous for the practices in question.

the original historian. (1) In the year 1249, (2) the king coming to Winchester, where he was often accustomed to take his place amongst the judges, and to assist in trying causes; two merchants of Brabant come and complain to him with many tears, that in passing near this city, they had been stopped, and robbed of no less than 200 marks, by persons actually attending upon the king's court; at the same time offering to prove their charge by the trial of the sword. The persons accused are seized upon, and impeached of the robbery; but the jury being formed of the bettermost people of the city, who happen to be infected with the same guilt, they are, without hesitation, acquitted. The merchants return to the king, persisting in their complaints of the injustice that has been done to them: whereupon he assembles his counsellors, who tell him, that the neighbourhood of Winchester is infamous, throughout the kingdom, for the robberies, violencies, and murders committed there upon strangers; that the judges and magistrates have in vain attempted to eradicate this evil, because the juries in general are the accomplices of the persons accused; that the great number of strangers, particularly from foreign parts, who flock to this city, through the neighbouring port of Southampton, partly on account of the court being kept in it, partly on account of the great fairs which are held here, is a constant source of temptation to the ill-disposed. (3) The king therefore calling together the bailiffs and chief inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood into the castle, thus addresses them:—*What are these crimes that are laid to your charge; there is not a part of the country in such bad repute for robberies and murders as is this city, with its suburbs and neighbourhood. I am witness to them myself, and a sufferer by them. My wine is openly and trium-*

(1) Mat. Paris. Hist. Maj. ad. an. 1249. See also Mat. West. ad dict. an.

(2) Amongst other errors, the Anonymous Historian misdates this transaction, when he places it in 1247. To speak the truth, he is seldom right in his dates.

(3) "Per has enim partes meant & remeant, tum propter portum propinquum, tum propter regiam istam civitatem, tum propter nundinas, institores quam plurimi; præcipue ultra marini." Mat. Paris.

phantly carried away from the carts, whilst they are conveying it to my castle. I am quite ashamed of the city, from which I derive my birth. It is probable, nay it is certain, that you citizens and countrymen, now before me, are partners in these crimes. However, I am resolved to extirpate them, though it should be necessary to assemble all the people of England hither for this purpose. Saying this, he cries out with a loud voice to his attendants:—*Shut the castle gates, shut them immediately.* The bishop (1) being present, now rises up to moderate the royal indignation, and expresses himself as follows:—*Be merciful, Sire, be merciful; there are many good and loyal subjects here, who ought not to be shut up like prisoners. You do not even accuse any others except the guilty persons of this city, and their confederates.* Then turning to the assembly, he says:—*By all the spiritual power with which I am invested, as your bishop, and under pain of excommunication, I require of you to reveal what you know of these scandalous proceedings.* Accordingly, twelve men of the city or neighbourhood are impannelled, and sworn to make a true report of what they can discover of the aforesaid robbery. After long consultation, they declare that they are unable to make any discovery whatever upon the subject. Upon this the king is provoked to a degree of fury, and exclaims:—*Carry away those artful traitors, tie them, and cast them into the dungeon below, and let me have twelve other men of the city and neighbourhood, who will tell us the truth.* In short, a new jury, indifferently chosen from the city or county, (2) is impannelled; who, after some deliberation together, lay open a shocking confederacy, entered into for the purposes of rapine, in which many persons of the fairest character

(1) This was William de Raley, who, within a fortnight after this transaction, went abroad, where he died. Annal. Wint.

(2) Both these juries are expressly stated to have been chosen, "De civibus Wintoniensibus & comitatu Sudamtoniæ."—The nameless historian to palliate the matter, but without any authority whatever, represents the first perjured jury as "consisting principally of the court party," and the last jury, who told the truth, as being "selected out of the merchants and principal tradesmen of the city. Pp. 71, 72.

and the most ample fortunes in the city and neighbourhood, (1) as also several of the king's household and guards, are found to be concerned. (2) Of these many are taken; some fly to the churches for refuge, and others escape. No fewer, however, than thirty are condemned and hanged; and about as many more are left in prison, expecting the same fate. Thus was the evil itself removed, (3) but this city, together with Southampton, and the county in general, long bore the disgrace of having been infected with it. (4)

Amongst the culprits, it has been remarked, were some of the king's own household. These, by way of extenuating their guilt, alleged that they had been driven into these bad courses through the fault of the king himself, in neglecting to pay them their just wages. (5) The truth is, Henry's coffers being generally empty, he was unable to defray the expences of his household; insomuch, that in the year 1256, the merchants of Gascony, resident at Winchester, refused to send for any more wine, on his account; and coming to high words with his steward on the subject, boasted much of the protection which prince Edward afforded them; to whom in fact they carried their complaints. This being represented to the king in an unfavourable light, caused a violent altercation and breach between the father and the son. The former complained that he was now treated as his grandfather Henry II. had been by his sons. The latter, by

(1) "Quamplures erant de confinibus partibus, præcipue de Antona & de libertate episcopi de Tantona." Mat. Paris.

(2) "Multi qui legales & boni vir ireputabantur, qui terris 50 vel 80*l*. gaudebant, quidam de hospitio D. regis æditui & arcubalistarii." Ibid.

(3) "Sic volente Deo, domino ultionum, patria Wintoniensis, per quam crebro, tum propter nundinas, tum propter portum civitati propinquum, tum propter civitatis celebrem frequentiam, institores tam ultra marini quam cismarini transierunt, a latronum retiaculis liberata est." Mat. West.

(4) "Verum Wintonia, Sudamptonia & totus ille comitatus indelebilem infamiæ notam inde contraxerunt." Mat. Paris.

(5) Mat. Paris.

way of securing his person from the insults of the courtiers, increased his body guards to the number of 200 horse. (1)

The discontents of the barons, which had been brewing during the former part of Henry's reign, at length produced the same fatal effects as in the reign of his father. In 1258 they met at Oxford, in what was then called a parliament, (2) but which resembled more the late diets of Poland, than the legislative assemblies of the present day. For they all came, by agreement, with their horses and armour, attended by their military vassals. (3) Here they obliged the king to renew their charters, by oath; and imposed such conditions upon him, as they judged most proper for obliging him to observe them. Amongst the rest, they insisted on appointing a chief justice, in whom they could confide, namely, Hugh Bigod, (4) and a council of twenty-four persons, (5) who might counteract the bad advice of the king's half-brothers, and of the Poitou men in general. These, perceiving their danger, silently left Oxford, and rode as fast as their horses could carry them to Winchester, (6) of which Ethelmar was then bishop; in order to secure the episcopal castles in this city and neighbourhood; (7) hoping, by this means, to baffle the designs of their enemies, which they perceived were to drive them out of the kingdom. This stratagem, however, proved unsuccessful, for the barons, raging like lions, at the apprehension of losing their prey, (8) followed them hither, with almost equal celerity; forced Wolvesey castle, where they had taken refuge; (9) and then opening their parliament again, as it was called, (10) passed certain statutes. (11) which obliged all the four brothers, including our unworthy prelate, with all foreigners in general, to leave the kingdom.

The passions, however, of large assemblies, in whatever rank of life, when once excited, commonly proceed to unjustifiable lengths. This was

(1) Mat. Paris. an. 1256. (2) Mat. Paris. Mat. West. (3) Knighton.
(4) Mat. Paris. (5) Mat. West. (6) Mat. Paris.
(7) Ibid. (8) Hen. Knighton, l. II. (9) Gul. Rishanger.
(10) "Illic (Wintoniæ) aliud tenuere parliamentum." Mat. West. an. 1258.
(11) Knighton.

exemplified in our city, on the present occasion. The weather this year proved uncommonly unseasonable, storms and deluges ravaging the country, to such a degree during the whole summer, that the harvest in many places could not be reaped before the feast of All Saints. (1) The consequence of this was, that a great mortality ensued; (2) and, amongst others, some of the nobility, particularly William de Clare, brother of the earl of Gloucester, died during the fifteen days that they remained in our city; and the earl himself was taken ill, and hardly escaped with his life. This accident was attributed to the perfidy and resentment of the foreigners, who were said to have caused poison to be administered to them. In particular, Walter de Scotney, steward of the earl of Gloucester, was accused of having been bribed to poison his master, together with his brother, the earl of Clare; and being tried here the following year for this crime, he was, upon very slight evidence, (3) found guilty, and put to death; being dragged at a horse's tail to the place of execution, and hung with circumstances of peculiar cruelty. (4)

At length, in 1262, the jealousies between the king and the barons, which seemed four years before to have been extinguished in this city, by the removal of the foreigners, broke out in the same place into an open flame. The independent nobility resolutely adhered to the terms agreed upon at Oxford; and in particular they exercised the privilege which they had extorted, of appointing the chief justice and the chancellor. (5) The king and the courtiers, on the other hand, affected to call this meeting *The*

(1) Mat. Paris. (2) Idem.

(3) The jury being asked by the judge, upon what circumstances they founded their verdict, answered—*We never heard that William de Valentia, or any of his brothers, were indebted to Walter de Scotney; and, on the other hand, we know that the former lately paid a large sum of money to him.* This proof, however, our ancient author intimates, is of less weight than the dying declaration of William de Clare, that he had been poisoned by Walter.

(4) "Equis distractus & post in patibulo suspensus." Annal. Wint. an. 1261.—"Horribiliter suspensus." Mat. West.

(5) Gul. Rishanger, an. 1262. Mat. West.

Mad Parliament of Oxford; and considering themselves as not at all bound by its articles, (1) they sent to the pope to obtain a decision, to this effect: together with a dispensation from the oath, with which the king had then bound himself. (2) At length, when the latter had taken all his precautions, and thought himself sufficiently strong to set the barons at defiance, he came down in haste to Winchester, from the tower of London; and having spent

(1) Mat. West. an. 1261.

(2) Without entering into any controversy, we will here candidly and briefly state the casuistry of former ages, on the subject of oaths, vows, and dispensations; for want of understanding which, modern writers are apt to fall into great mistakes, and idle declamation. For the accuracy of our statement, we refer to the *Summa Theologiæ* of St. Thomas Aquinas, and to the works of the schoolmen in general, with which the time in question abounded. According to these, a vow, of a *private nature, between God and the conscience*, respecting prayers, fasting, or other such like good works, might, upon due consideration of the inconveniences with which it was attended, be dispensed with, or commuted for other less objectionable works of piety, by the pastors of the church, and principally by the pope. But a *just and lawful vow*, made and agreed to, between man and man, for the benefit of one or both of the parties, was incapable of any dispensation from the church; it not being in her power to dispose of the temporal property or rights of individuals, without their consent. Supposing, however, the vow to be of *an unjust and unlawful nature*, such as is extorted by a robber, or other person, through violence or terror; or such a one as *tends to the destruction or confusion of the state, or to other fatal consequences;* this vow they held to be, of its own nature, null and void. But as the difficulty was to know where these invalidating circumstances really existed; and as it is not fitting or safe for any man to be judge in his own cause, they were accustomed to submit all such cases to the decision of the aforesaid pastors: being sensible, however, that their decision was of no authority or weight whatever in *foro conscientiæ*, if they mistated the question to the spiritual judge, or unduly influenced his opinion. The casuistry concerning oaths, in one particular, differed from that concerning vows, viz. that whereas in the former, there occurred an invocation of the divine name, they held it unlawful to break through such an engagement, though manifestly unjust, and extorted by violence, without a dispensation from that part of it which regarded the deity, by his authorised ministers. This is exemplified in the case before us. Henry reproaches the barons, that they had broken their oaths to him, and declares that he considers himself as free from every obligation, which he owes to them; nevertheless he, at that very time, declares that he shall send to the pope, which he actually did, desiring to be absolved precisely from that tie, which he conceived the invocation of the divine name to have imposed upon him. Mat. West. ut supra.

the festival of Whitsuntide with his courtiers in the castle, he sent for the chief justice and chancellor, who had been lately new appointed by the barons, and required them to deliver up to him the records and the seal in their possession: (1) and though they refused to comply with this demand, he proceeded to appoint new officers to the important posts in question. This was the signal for open civil war. The barons flew to arms, and immediately marched under the command of Simon de Montfort, to this our city; (2) hoping to seize upon the king's person, on the very scene of his violating their favourite articles. In this expectation, however, they were deceived; for one of Henry's most sagacious counsellors, John Maunsel, coming privately to him, persuaded him to retire in time to the tower of London, (3) which he had fortified with extraordinary care. The above-mentioned able general laying siege to Winchester, soon obliged it to surrender. It is said to have yielded on favourable terms: but whether the barons themselves were irritated at the behaviour of our citizens, or, what is more likely, were unable to restrain the fury of their soldiers; certain it is, that the city was at this time miserably sacked and defaced, and many of the inhabitants ill-treated, and even murdered. (4) This was particularly the hard fate of the Jews, who were then exceedingly numerous here, in consequence of the protection which they had hitherto experienced, whilst in most of our cities they had been riotously assaulted and murdered. One large street, in particular, where also they had their synagogue, was full of them; which street, on this account, was called *The Jewry*. (5) The castle, however, being garrisoned by the principal inhabitants, held out for the king, and defied all the force and military skill of the renowned general who commanded the malcontents; (6) until, in the next year, both parties agreeing to refer their differences to the king of France, who was St. Lewis IX. a kind of peace was made. The sum of his decision was,

(1) Mat. West. who ascribes these events to 1261.
(2) Mat. West. Gul. Rishanger. (3) Iidem.
(4) Mat. West. ad. an. 1265. Dictum de Kenelworth. Trussel's MSS.
(5) Trussel, now Goal-street. (6) Idem.

that the Magna Charta of king John should stand in all its force, but that the statutes of Oxford should be abrogated. (1) This not satisfying the earl of Leicester, whose authority, on one side, was not inferior to that of the king on the other; after many negociations, delays, and skirmishes, the dispute at last came to the decision of the sword, in two general battles. In that of Lewes, fought in 1264, the royalists were overcome, and the king, with his son prince Edward, was taken prisoner, not, however, until the latter had made a horrible slaughter of the Londoners, who demanded the foremost rank in the army of the barons. (2) The year following, this martial prince having escaped from his guards by the fleetness of his horse, and raised a fresh army, vindicated his own and his father's cause, though with some risk to the latter's person, (3) on the field of Evesham; where the barons were routed, and the idol of his age, Simon de Montfort, killed. The next year was famous for the happy pacification, called *Dictum de Kenelworth*, between the king and the malcontents; so called from its having been concluded before the castle of that name: in which, amongst other things, it was settled that no other punishment, than a pecuniary one, should be inflicted upon those persons who had been concerned in the devastations committed at Winchester. (4)

At the very time that the different states of the kingdom were engaged in this unnatural war with each other, the weight of which fell so heavy upon our city; its inhabitants increased their calamities, by a kind of domestic civil war, which they carried on amongst themselves. We are unacquainted with the origin of the disturbances, but we know in general

(1) Gul. Rishanger. an. 1263.

(2) "Londinenses primos ictus belli petierant, discrimina ignorantes." Hen. Knighton, an. 1264.

(3) The king was led to the battle by Simon de Montfort, whose prisoner he was, and thus stood opposed to his own forces. Feeling a violent blow discharged upon his shoulder, he cried out loudly—*I am Henry of Winchester, do not kill me.* Knighton, ad. an. 1265.

(4) Vide Dictum de Kenelworth.

that the lower orders will never want a pretence for making commotions and riots, in a disordered and weak government, which unfortunately was now the case. So far is certain, that in the year 1264, the same in which the fatal battle of Lewes was fought, the common people of Winchester rose up in arms against their fellow citizens and neighbours, as well lay persons as ecclesiastics; and that they burnt down King's-gate, with the parish church of St. Swithun over it, and all the houses adjoining to it; together with the great gate of the priory or close; and that they assassinated all the servants belonging to the monastery, on whom they could lay hands.(1)

Soon after the battle of Evesham, Henry summoned a parliament at Winchester, in which the statutes of the mad parliament, as that held at Oxford in 1258 was termed, were abrogated, and the liberties of the city of London annulled; in punishment of its inhabitants having sided with the barons. (2) The next time the king came hither, after the pacification of Kenelworth, he was received in the cathedral with a solemn procession; (3) and the ensuing year, 1268, he held another parliament at Winchester, in which he invested his victorious son and deliverer with the offices of seneschal of England, and governor of all the castles in the realm. (4) In 1270, he again held a parliament here; the chief object of which was to obtain supplies for a crusade, which prince Edward had undertaken. (5) This matter being settled, the valiant Edward took leave of his father in the castle; and then proceeding to the priory, he also took leave of the monks assembled in chapter, and recommended himself to their prayers. (6) Hence he immediately proceeded to Portsmouth, in order to embark for Palestine: but some obstacle occurring, he went to Dover, and there took shipping. (7) The last mentioned parliament adjourned

(1) Annales Wint. Item Annal. Wigorn. ad. dict. an.

(2) "Triumphatis hostibus rex parliamentum Wintoniam convocavit. Ubi, inito consilio, civitatem Londinensem, ob suam rebellionem, suis privilegiis & libertatibus privavit." Gul. Rishanger, an. 1265.

(3) Annal. Wint. an. 1267. (4) Ibid. 1268. (5) Annal. Wint.

(6) Annal. Wigorn. an. 1270. (7) Ibid.

from our city to London, where they enacted a law, that all manner of persons should be obliged to produce evidence of the tenures, by which they held their lands. This was a general subject of discontent; and, amongst the rest, the powerful and high spirited John Warren, earl of Surry, instead of producing his parchment rolls, drew his sword in Westminster-hall before the judges, swearing that his father and grandfather had held their estates by that right, and that he would defend them by the same. A dispute on this ensuing between him and the judges, he fatally fulfilled his oath, cleaving in two the skull of Alan de la Zouch, chief justice of Ireland, as he sat upon the bench. (1) The trial of this grand cause came on at Winchester, and was conducted according to the established laws of those times. The accused was acquitted of wilful murder, upon his own solemn oath, that he had not struck the deceased out of preconceived malice, or contempt of the king's authority, and upon twenty-five persons, of the rank of knights, who were called *compurgatores*, swearing that they believed what the earl had sworn to be true. (2) He was, however, fined in the heavy sum of 1200 marks.

Another singular proceeding in the judicature of those times, relating to the title derived from this city, took place in the present reign. At the death of Saer de Quincey, his elder son Robert was absent on the crusade, in the Holy Land; upon which, his younger son Roger took upon himself the style and title of earl of Winchester. The former returning home, claimed his honours; but it was decided, that the younger brother having enjoyed the title without dispute a considerable time, and having been summoned to parliament, as earl of Winchester, he should continue to possess it during his life, but that upon his decease, it should revert to the family of Robert. (3)

In 1272, after a reign unprecedented in our annals, of 56 years, Henry of Winchester paid the debt of nature; and was buried, according to his

(1) Annal. Wigorn. Annal. Wint. an. 1270. Trussel's MSS.
(2) Trussel's MSS. (3) Contin. Mat. Paris.

own directions, near the relics of his patron saint, Edward the Confessor; whose festival he had always devoutly celebrated, and after whom he caused his eldest son to be named. Though he chose, on this account, to be buried at Westminster, yet his partiality to the city of his birth is manifest, in numberless instances. Accordingly Winchester flourished exceedingly during his reign. It was the more ordinary residence of the king, where he constantly kept up a royal establishment, held many parliaments, and transacted the weightiest concerns of the nation. Hence we find it still emphatically termed, by contemporary writers, a royal city. (1) It appears also, that the chief officers of state had houses in Winchester; and that the public records continued still to be kept here, (2) as the principal royal mint certainly was. (3) The wealth, talents, and piety of her bishops, in general, were also of great benefit to the city, by their public works and charities, and by the important parts which they acted in the affairs of the kingdom. But what contributed most to the prosperity of this city, was its extensive trade and commerce; being the general mart and point of union between England and the king's foreign dominions, through the neighbouring port of Southampton; with which it communicated, by the short canal that had been opened in the preceding reign. The chief article of exportation was, of course, the manufacture of this city, woollen cloths; (4) of importation,

(1) "Regia civitas." Mat. Paris, ut supra.

(2) Rishanger, ut supra.

(3) Annal. Wint. ut supra.

(4) We learn from Trussel, that Winchester had long possessed a considerable manufactory of capping and clothing; still, however, it is true that great quantities of our wool were exported and manufactured abroad, chiefly in Brabant and Flanders. This is clear from the following part of the good monk's mournful address to his country, on the effects of the civil war in this reign:—"Tibi (Angliæ) de tuâ materiâ, vestes pretiosas, tua textrix, Flandria texuit." Mat. Paris. ad. an. 1265.—The first step to encourage the staple manufacture of this country in general, appears to have been taken in the parliament of Winchester, held in 1258, where, amongst other things, it was ordained: "quòd lanæ terræ comparentur in Angliâ, nec alienigenis venderentur, et quòd omnes uterentur pannis laneis, infra limites terræ operatis, nec nimis pretiosas vestes quærerent." Hen. Knighton, De Event. l. II, c. XV.

claret wine. (1) This commerce was also greatly encouraged and supported by the privileged fairs held here; particularly, as we have said, that of St. Giles's-hill, then the greatest in the kingdom. But this was the fated term of Winchester's greatness. If she had descended one degree, in the scale of relative importance, at the death of the first Henry, she sunk two degrees lower upon the loss of her native king, Henry III. This will appear in the course of the following chapter, and is to be accounted for from various causes; but chiefly from the unparalleled increase, in commerce, wealth, population, and splendor, of that city, which henceforward we must admit to be the metropolis of England; and to which, with all our honest partiality for Winchester, we devoutly wish the second part of the following line of the poet may be as truly applicable as the first is:—

Huic ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono. Virg.

(1) Robert of Gloucester, a contemporary poet, celebrates the wine of Winchester.

In the countrey of Canterbury most plenty of fish is,
And most chase of wilde beasts about Salisbury I wis,
And London shipps most, and wine at Winchester,
At Hartford sheep and oze, and fruit at Worcester.

See Camden's Remains.—That the wine chiefly then in use was claret, we gather from another passage of the above quoted address to England:—"Tibi vinum tua Vascocia ministravit." Mat. West.

CHAP XI.

Reign of Edward I.—His Valour displayed near Winchester.—His other Transactions there.—Dispute between the Citizens of Winchester and those of London.—Terms of Agreement between them.—Winchester disgraced and punished by the King.—Reinstated through the Clemency of the Queen.—Succession of Bishops.—Pontificate of John de Pontissara.—Foundation of St. Elizabeth's College, and of St. John's House.—The Bishops Woodlock, Sandale, De Asserio, and Stratford. —Reign of Edward II.—Earl of Winchester.—His barbarous Execution.—An Infringement of the Liberties of this City.—Edmund, Earl of Kent, executed at Winchester.—Episcopacy of Adam de Orlton.—His Crimes.—Reign of Edward III.—Prosperous Face of Winchester.—Subsequent Calamities.—Episcopacy of Edington.—He is succeeded by William de Wykeham.—Acts and Character of this illustrious Prelate.—History of this City during the Reign of Richard II. —Errors of former Historians.—Henry IV. marries Queen Joan at Winchester.—Henry V. keeps his Court there.—Account of Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester.—Partiality of Henry VI. for this City.—His Visits and Benefactions to it.—Edward IV. at Winchester, bestows the Title of it upon a foreign Favourite.—Short Reign of Edward V.—Richard III. passes through this City.—Life of Bishop Waynflete.

AT the death of Henry, his son Edward was signalizing his valour in the Holy Land, on the same spot which was already famous for the prowess of his great uncle, Cœur de Lion. These exploits were of little avail towards restoring Christianity in the east, but of the greatest service

towards preserving it in the west. (1) Nearly two years elapsed from his accession to the throne, before the king arrived at Dover, in his way to Westminster, where he was crowned with uncommon splendor and magnificence; and it was more than a twelvemonth from that period, before he could find leisure to visit Winchester, to which, on different occasions, he had proved the greatest attachment, still more for its tried loyalty in the late civil wars, than for its being the birth place of his father, and of his eldest son John. (2) Our citizens, on the other hand, were not less warm in their affection for him, having been witnesses to his heroism, and other popular virtues, and particularly benefited by them. One exploit, in particular, achieved in this neighbourhood, had raised his reputation for personal bravery, more than all his victories at Evesham, in the Holy Land, and elsewhere.

At the pacification of Kenelworth, some of the barons and their adherents refused to be comprehended in its articles, and betook themselves to a course of open robbery and plunder, for their subsistence.(3). Amongst these was a knight, celebrated for his strength and intrepidity, one Sir Adam de Gurdon; who, lurking in the woods with a few hardy followers, infested the high road between Winchester and Farnham, robbing all passengers, and plundering the neighbouring estates, especially of those whom he knew to be of the royal party. He had hitherto braved or

(1) It has been the fashion for modern writers, ever since Voltaire set the example, to spend all their eloquence in declamations against the crusades; being little aware that we are indebted to them for not wearing the turban, and swearing by Mahomet at the present day. Let it be remembered that, about the time of the crusades, those wide wasting barbarians, whose primary rule of conduct was the extirpation of all unbelievers in the Koran, had already subdued all the civilized countries of Asia and Africa; and being masters of Spain on one side of Europe, and of Greece, with the neighbouring provinces, on the other, hemmed in the Christian states within narrow bounds, and would infallibly have reduced them, one after another, but for those associations of the bravest warriors throughout the several kingdoms, who successively harrassed them in the heart of their strength, and found them sufficient employment at home, during the ages of their greatest prowess and enterprize.

(2) Trussel's MSS. (3) Gul. Rishanger, an. 1267. Mat. West.

cluded all the force that had been sent against him; when prince Edward undertook the task of freeing the country from this its greatest terror. He accordingly proceeded, with a few armed followers, to the forest, which Gurdon most frequented; when, gaining sight of him, our heroical prince commanded his attendants to keep their distance, and rushed forward to measure swords with the daring outlaw, hand to hand. The combat was severe and long, the parties being nearly matched in strength as well as valour; which qualities Edward admiring in his adversary, promised him his life and fortune, if he would yield himself his prisoner. Gurdon, who was well assured of the prince's honour, threw down his arms, and Edward took him into his immediate service; and that very night sent him with a letter to his mother, informing her of his safety from the danger to which he had exposed himself. (1) This adventure had taken place some years before the prince came to the throne. (2)

It was on the 12th of January, in the year 1276, (3) that Edward, accompanied by his beloved and exemplary queen Eleonora, paid his first visit to Winchester, after his return from the Holy Land. Having slept at the castle that night, the king came the next morning to offer up his prayers in the cathedral; for which he had a particular veneration, on account of its antiquity, and the many illustrious saints who were there interred. On this occasion he was received in solemn procession by the bishop and the monks. (4) Finding the city in great confusion, through the dissentions which had prevailed there for more than twelve years, that is to say, ever since the beginning of the civil wars; he exerted his talents and authority to put a stop to them; and on this occasion he renewed to the city all its charters, and restored the privilege of choosing its own officers, (5) which seems to have been taken away in the course of these

(1) Gul. Rishanger.—Matthew of Westminster gives a different account of this combat. He says that Gurdon was wounded and conquered, and that the prince gave him his life, but that his attendants afterwards hung him.

(2) Viz. 1267. Rishanger.

(3) Prid. Id. Jan. Annal. Wigorn.

(4) Annal. Wigorn. an. 1276.

(5) Annal. Wint.

disputes. The citizens accordingly met on the 26th of the said month, and elected their mayor, aldermen, and bailiffs, as they had been accustomed to do. (1) It is probable that this was also the time of Edward's bestowing a new seal upon the corporation, which they continue still to possess, and to use in deeds of importance. (2) Edward's stay at Winchester, on this occasion, was not quite three weeks, and yet he found leisure to hold a parliament here; (3) in which, amongst other transactions, he received the submission of Gaston de Bierne, one of his foreign vassals, who had rebelled against him, and who was now conducted to him with a halter round his neck. (4) The king at first committed him prisoner to the castle here, but having afterwards sent for him to London, he restored this vanquished enemy to his life and liberty. (5)

Edward left Winchester, with the intention of spending more time here on a future occasion. Accordingly, three years afterwards, he came hither to keep his birth-day; (6) where he continued for the space of nearly six months. (7) The most important business that he transacted at this time in our city, which was still one of the chief minting places in the kingdom, was an improvement in the current coin. For whereas, before this time, no pieces of less value than pennies were struck, and these marked with a double cross on the reverse, by which means they might, when necessary, be broken into halfpennies and farthings; and whereas this mode of dividing the pieces gave occasion to great waste and frauds, the king now gave orders for the coining of halfpence and

(1) Annal. Wint.

(2) This seal, which is always in the possession of the mayor, for the time being, represents Edward I. crowned, with a lion couchant on his breast. The inscription, which is abbreviated, and in the characters of that age, runs as follows:—

× S· EDW· REG· ANGL· AD RECOGN· DEBIT· APUD WINTON·

This inscription, at full length, is to be read as follows:—

× *Sigillum Edwardi Regis Angliæ, ad recognitionem debitorum apud Wintoniam.*

See an engraving of this seal, in our Miscellaneous Plate, No. 12.

(3) Annal. Wigorn. (4) Ypodig. (5) Annal. Wigorn.

(6) Ibid. (7) From July until after Epiphany. Ibid.

farthings; (1) which was so great a novelty in the nation, that the prophecies of Merlin were ransacked, in order to discover where he had foretold it. (2) We find Edward here again, with his chief officers, the following year, keeping his Christmas in the castle; which he left immediately after the Epiphany, in order to make room for the judges of the circuit, who arrived the week following. (3) The king took his route into the New Forest, but the chancellor went to Westminster; in order that all those who had business with him, might find him at a fixed and certain place. (4) The royal visit, however, which conferred the greatest honour upon this city in the present reign, took place in the year 1285. The king was at the abbey of Amesbury on the feast of the Assumption, August 15, in order to conduct his daughter Mary to the altar, where, with thirteen other young ladies of noble families, (5) she pronounced her religious vows, in quality of a nun; in which she was imitated, the year following, by her grand-mother, the queen dowager Eleanor. (6) From Amesbury Edward came to this city; where, on the 18th of September, he held a great military solemnity, creating at one time no less than forty-four knights. (7) He, at the same time, exacted scutage from all the knights throughout the kingdom; (8) requiring them to perform the service, which they owed to him, in the war which he was then meditating against Scotland. However successful and advantageous to the realm, this war in the end proved to be, yet the parliament which the king held here at this time, (9) was infinitely more beneficial to it, by the wise regu-

(1) Circa festum B. Petri ad vincula (viz. Aug. 1, 1269) moneta in melius mutabatur. Nam quia denarius findi in duas partes, pro obolis, & in quatuor partes, pro quadrantibus, consuevit: ordinatum fuit quod rotundi essent denarii, oboli & quadrantes." Mat. West.

(2) " In quo prophetia Merlini videtur impleta." Hen. Knighton.

(3) Annal. Wigorn. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid.

(6) The queen dowager assumed the veil at Amesbury in 1286, where she died and was buried in 1291. Annal. Wigorn. Mat. West.

(7) Ibid. (8) Ibid.

(9) " An. 1285, circa fest. Nativ. B. M. V. quædam statuta fecerat publicari, ad refrænandum prædonum & latronum rabiem." Mat. West.

lations therein enacted, for restoring and preserving its internal peace. These ordinances, known afterwards by the name of *The Statutes of Winchester*, are admitted to have been the wisest and the best ordinances for the security of persons and property, and for the general welfare of the state, that ever were passed in any session of parliament, since such assemblies were first held; and therefore, by a statute of the reign of Richard II. were appointed to be proclaimed by every sheriff, in his county, four times in each year. (1)

This city had received an awful token of the complete conquest of Wales, in one of the quarters of David, the last of its native princes, who had been executed for high treason. It was sent hither to be exposed on the castle walls; the other three quarters being transmitted to York, Bristol, and Northampton, and the head to London. (2) This circumstance, trifling as it may seem, points out the relative importance of the chief places in the kingdom, at this period. In fact, Winchester was no longer in a condition to dispute the point of dignity and rank with London; and now, whilst Edward was repeating the victories of his West Saxon ancestors, in the remotest parts of Scotland, the latter city was attempting to deprive her of more solid advantages, which were common to the two cities; by exacting the same customs and duties, for the merchandize of Winchester, as for that from other parts. This brought on a legal contest, which, however, terminated on the production of our charters, as appears by the following record:—"On Monday, before the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, in the 32d year of Edward, the son of Henry, John Le Blunt, being then mayor of London, &c. and John de Burnford, sheriff, in behalf of the commonalty of London, giving meeting to Roger de Inkpen, mayor; John de Kirby, alderman; and other citizens of Winchester, to treat about the aforesaid differences: it was settled and concluded, that all men free of the guild of merchants of Winchester, shall be free in the said city of London, of all duties or customs for

(1) Trussel's MSS. (2) Mat. West. an. 1283.

bridges, (1) walls, (2) pasture, (3) and all other customs whatsoever, for their merchandize, except their custom for weighing, (4) which is vid. for the first sack of wool, and v d. for every other sack; as likewise the duty to be taken at the river for the use of the queen, of which they cannot be free, (though the citizens of Winchester continue to protest against it); and for the perpetual memorial of this agreement, it is ordered that the same shall be enrolled in the guildhall of London, in the presence of both the said mayors, and of the several aldermen aforesaid, by the hands of William de Hickling, clerk to the aforesaid guildhall. (5)

The royal favour which our city had hitherto enjoyed during this glorious reign, was unfortunately lost near the conclusion of it; not, however, in consequence of any scandalous charge against its magistrates, as had a little before been the case with London; (6) but from a mere accident, or at most a neglect on their part. It happened that a foreign hostage of great consequence, one Bernard Pereres, who was security for the fidelity of the city of Bayonne, escaped out of Winchester castle, where he had been detained by the king's appointment; of which castle the mayor, for the time being, and his brethren, were the keepers. The indignation of the king, on hearing of this event, being worked up to the highest pitch, he sent his writ hither, requiring the mayor, the bailiffs, and six of the aldermen, to appear before him at the approaching parliament, at Westminster; by another writ, he gave orders to the sheriff of the county to seize upon the city, and, in his name, to declare void its liberties. The magistrates being arrived in London, were committed close prisoners to the tower, and in the

(1) "Pontagio." (2) "Muragio." (3) "Pannagio," sive *Pasnagium*, from *Pastio;* the money paid for permission to turn out pigs to feed in a forest. See Du Cange, Glossarium, and the authorities quoted by him. The author, in his first edition, had translated this word *duty on cloth* from pannus, but submitting to the castigation of one of his critics, has here corrected his mistake.

(4) "Tronagio, a Trona, seu Trutina, a scale (hence our troy weight). Du Cange, Glossar.

(5) Trussel's MSS.

(6) In 1285, the charters of London were seized, and the mayor turned out of office, in consequence of the latter's having taken a bribe from the bakers. Stow.

end were fined the sum of 300 marks; with orders that they should not be enlarged until the same was paid. In these extremities, the reigning queen, Margaret, (1) gratefully remembering the loyalty and affection which had been shewn to her at Winchester, at a visit which she had lately paid there, came forward with equal spirit and humanity in its behalf. She made it appear, by a charter which the king had formerly granted her, that the fine in question was her due. She then remitted one part of it, and took the security of the prisoners for the payment of the other, when it should be demanded; nor did she rest until she had restored both the magistrates and the city to the enjoyment of all their former privileges. (2) It is easy to conceive that the popularity of this benevolent princess must have risen to a high pitch amongst our Wintonians, at this period. She accordingly chose this city for her residence, whilst her royal husband was engaged in his last expedition into Scotland; (3) and here she was brought to bed of a daughter, who was christened Eleanor. (4) About the same time the victorious Edward sent prisoner to this castle the bishop of St. Andrew's, who had been taken in arms, fighting for his expiring country; with strict orders to put him into irons, and confine him in the strongest tower of the fortress. (5) The career, however, of Edward's victories was stopped, and Scotland saved from becoming a province of England, by his unexpected death, which overtook him in the year 1307.

We have now to turn our eyes towards the ecclesiastical occurrences of these times. Upon the death of bishop Nicholas, in 1280, the monks of the cathedral gave their votes in favour of his friend Robert Burnel, bishop of Bath, and sent to Rome, requesting to have him translated to their see;(6)

(1) She was Edward's second wife, being married to him in 1299, and was sister to Philip of France.

(2) Trussel's MSS. (3) Ibid.

(4) "An. 1306. Domina Margareta regina apud Wintoniam peperit filiam Eleanoram." Mat. West. (5) Rym. Fæd.

(6) This account of the annalist of Worcester, which is in strict conformity with the canon law then in force, is preferable to the account of Godwin and Hen. Wharton, who

as, without such authority, the measure would have been uncanonical and unlawful. The pope refused to grant the dispensation required; in consequence of which, the former election being void, it was lawful for him to appoint the new bishop. He did not, however, avail himself of this right, but gave permission to the monks to proceed to a fresh election; after admonishing them to make choice of a person, who was fit to preside over the clergy and people of so important a see. (1) They accordingly met together, for this purpose, with the two archdeacons of the diocese at their head; and unanimously chose one of the said archdeacons, (2) Richard de la More, who was also subdean of Lincoln, and professor of divinity. He was accordingly admitted by the king to the possession of his temporalities: but when the election was notified to the archbishop, John Peckham, who had been a friar of the order of St. Francis; he positively refused to confirm it, alleging the canons, lately enacted in the council of Lyons, against pluralists, in which situation the elect stood. (2) Richard went in person to Rome the following year to prosecute his appeal, and to obtain a dispensation from the impediment. On the other hand, the archbishop sent letters to the same place, breathing an apostolical firmness and zeal for discipline; in which, amongst other things, he declared, that if the canons were allowed to be infringed, the English church was ruined, and he was determined to resign his dignity. (4) These representations had their due weight with the pope; who, setting aside Richard, appointed John de Pontoys, or de Pontissara, who had been chancellor of Oxford and archdeacon of Exeter, (5) but who, at that time, was professor of the civil law in the city of Modena, (6) to be bishop of Winchester; and caused him to be consecrated in the city of Rome.

represent archbishop Peckam as rejecting this election; which would imply, that he assumed the power of translating his suffragans from one see to another, a privilege never practised or claimed by any of our metropolitans.

(1) Annal. Wigorn.
(2) Ibid. Hen. Wharton, Ang. Sac. vol. 1.
(3) Iidem.
(4) Hen. Wharton.
(5) Notæ ap. Godwin, De Præsul.
(6) Hen. Wharton.

The new bishop immediately returned to England, and took possession of his see. This happened in 1282. Being a man of learning and experience, he discovered the best mode of terminating those dissentions, which had frequently taken place between his predecessors and the monks of his cathedral. The convent gave up to the bishop and his successors the advowson of a great many churches in the diocese, to which they before had claimed a right of presenting; the bishop, on his part, resigning to the convent, for himself and those who were to succeed him, all his right to the manors of Gosport, Alverstoke, Drokesford, &c. as likewise the custody of the convent itself, upon the death of its priors, ordering that they should henceforward be perpetual, and not moveable at the pleasure of the diocesan, as had hitherto been the case; reserving, however to himself, the right of patronage, with certain other rights specified in the register. (1) The most important act, however, of his episcopal government, and that which was afterwards successfully copied by his most illustrious successors, was the establishment of a college, for the propagation of piety and literature amongst his clergy. This college, which was dedicated under the name of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, was situated opposite to Wolvesey castle, to the south-east of the present college. (2) The statutes which the founder made for the government of this college, prove his zeal for the advancement of piety, morality, learning, and clerical discipline; but they are such as would be thought grievous and impracticable in the present day. (3) The foundation was completed a little before the bishop's death, viz. in 1301. (4) Towards the close of his predecessor's government, (5) another religious establishment had been made, in the suburb of this city, where the above-mentioned college stood; namely, the convent of the Carmelite friars. (6) The Augustine friars were not long behind hand in obtaining an establishment here; though the precise period

(1) Registrum de Pontoys. Epit. Ang. Sac. Hen. Wharton. Notæ ap. Godwin.
(2) See our Survey, Part II.
(3) Monast. Anglic.
(4) Notæ ap. Godwin.
(5) In 1278.—Speed. Harpsfield, in Catalog.
(6) See our Survey, Part II.

of their foundation cannot be ascertained. (1) Thus were all the four mendicant orders planted in Winchester during the close of the thirteenth century, the same in which they had sprung up.

The establishment, however, the most interesting to the people of Winchester at the present day, of all those that were made in our city about this time, was that of St. John's House or Hospital, near the east end of the city. We shall have a future occasion to give the history of this house, which still subsists, and to relate its different foundations, and the respective purposes of these foundations. (2) At present, let it suffice to say, that a worthy and charitable magistrate of the city, John le Devenish, obtained a grant of this house from the crown, about the beginning of the fourteenth century; and established it upon one of the wisest, most charitable, and patriotic plans, that could have been devised.

John de Pontissara died at Wolvesey in 1304, and was buried on the north side of the presbytery, where his tomb and epitaph are still to be seen. (3) The monks now meeting for a new election, unanimously chose, for the first and only time, which to many will seem extraordinary, their own prior to be their bishop. His name was Henry Woodlock, alias de Merewell, from the place of his birth, (4) which was an episcopal manor near this city. His election, confirmation, consecration, and enthroning, were conducted in due form, and without opposition, in the course of the year 1305. (5) He proved himself to be a zealous, upright prelate, and one who was little disposed to barter his duty and conscience for court favour. This appeared when his metropolitan, the learned and edifying Robert de Winchelsea, was labouring under as severe a persecution from Edward I. as any of his predecessors had suffered from former sove-

(1) They had certainly been established here before Edward III, as we find that they had then illegally accepted of certain lands, which had been given to them. See our Survey, Part II.

(2) See our Survey.

(3) See ibid.

(4) Contin. Hist. Winch. Hen. Wharton.

(5) Ibid.

reigns; (1) in which unjust and oppressive treatment the reigning pontiff afterwards joined. However, as the archbishop was neither convicted of any crime, nor subject to any censure at the time we are speaking of; the bishop of Winchester continued to treat him with the respect which was due from a suffragan to his archbishop. He also interposed, with more zeal than caution, to appease the royal indignation. (2) The consequences were, that he himself was outlawed, and his effects seized upon for the king's use. (3) Edward dying not long after, his son, the young king, restored to both prelates their former rights. However, as the ceremony of the coronation was appointed to take place before the archbishop could return to England; our prelate, most probably by his licence, officiated at the solemnity, and had the honour of crowning the new king, with his queen Isabella, at Westminster. (4) Henry de Merewell was not forgetful of the place of his nativity. He considerably increased the foundation, which had originally been made there by Bishop de Blois; (5) and he is recorded for having bestowed many rich ornaments upon his own cathedral. (6) Dying at Farnham in 1316, he was conveyed to Winchester, and buried at the entrance of the choir of the said cathedral. (7)

Having mentioned the religious establishments that were made about this time in our city, it is proper to notice one that was suppressed in the year 1307, namely, the Knights of the Temple; who certainly had

(1) The king interdicted him the use of fire and water, as it is expressed; and actually turned out of their monastery all the monks of the cathedral of Canterbury, to the number of eighty, for having privately conveyed to their prelate the means of subsistence, until he could withdraw himself to the Continent. Godwin, De Præsul.—The crime, of which he was accused, was his having associated with the other prelates and nobility, to oblige the king to keep the charters, which he had so often confirmed. Vid. Stephan. De Birchington, Vit. Archep. Cant.

(2) Godwin.

(3) Contin. Hist. Winch.

(4) Harpsfield alone says that the coronation was performed in our city.

(5) Contin. Hist. Winch. Harpsfield.

(6) Epit. Wint. Ang. Sac. vol. 1. (7) Ibid.

property, (1) and most probably had a preceptory (2) in this city. (3) Without entering deeper into the question concerning the guilt of this celebrated order; it will be sufficient to observe, that from the account of all historians, they appear to have greatly relaxed from their original institute, which undoubtedly was good; and that, as there was a lurking heresy, of the most infamous nature, which had spread itself from Persia, where Manes founded it, into Bulgaria, and from thence into the country of the Albigenses, and other parts, some time before the period in question; so it is possible that this sensual system might have crept into some, at least, of the preceptories of the Temple, and thus have banished from them both the faith and the morality of the gospel.

Our next bishop was John de Sandale, a canon of York, who had been successively treasurer and chancellor of the kingdom. This prelate is not recorded for any thing that he performed in his diocese, but only for what he neglected to perform. Being taken up with his employment of treasurer, which required him to furnish the king with money for the war of Scotland, he contracted many debts on his own account. Hence he suffered the episcopal houses to get out of repair, (4) and permitted a poor convent of nuns in his diocese, the convent of Witney, to be dissolved, for want of assisting them in their distress, as a bishop ought to have done; for which omission he was called to a severe account by his metropolitan, Walter. (5) Finally, at his death, which took place in 1319, at his palace of Southwark, he was not buried in his cathedral, as all his predecessors had been, who had died within the realm, but in the church of St. Mary Overy. (6)

The next was a contested election; the king recommended a favourite clerk, for whose promotion he was particularly solicitous, Henry de Burgwash; (7) but the monks chose one of their own community, whose name was Adam, a man of extraordinary learning. (8) The pope, however, to

(1) Trussel's MSS. (2) So their houses were named, instead of convents.
(3) See our Survey. (4) Hist. Ecc. Nic. Harpsfield, Sæc. XIV. (5) Ibid.
(6) Regist. de Southwark. Contin. Hist. Win. (7) Notæ ap. Godwin.
(8) Harpsfield.

whom this matter was referred, appointed, by way of provision, as it is termed in the canon law, his own legate in England, Reginald de Asserio, to be bishop; (1) who was accordingly consecrated by the bishop of London: the archbishop, Walter, who considered the appointment as an irregularity, refusing to perform the ceremony. (2)

The episcopacy of Asserio was not of longer continuance than that of his predecessor; he dying in 1323, at the pope's court, which was then held at Avignon. (3) This was a case, in which by ancient custom, it was regular for the pope to appoint the succeeding bishop. The reigning pontiff, who was John XXII. accordingly availed himself of this right; and, at the recommendation of Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, appointed John de Stratford, archdeacon of Lincoln, to the vacant see. (4) The king had been desirous that his chancellor, Robert Baldock, archdeacon of Middlesex, should be fixed upon. Accordingly he shewed his resentment against the new bishop, by outlawing him, and seizing upon the temporalities of his see. (5) This obliged the bishop to keep himself concealed for above a year, amongst his friends; until at length he was received to favour by his sovereign, to whom he proved an able and faithful friend and minister, in the turbulent times which succeeded. (6) At length, however, the affairs of Edward II. becoming desperate, he was one of the persons deputed to induce that ill-fated monarch to sign his own abdication. (7) Falling afterwards into disgrace with the haughty Mortimer, whose power was then the greatest that was known in England; he, with great difficulty, escaped the fate of the loyal bishop of Exeter, who had been beheaded for his fidelity to the late king. In 1329, he was hunted from place to place by Mortimer, who thirsted after his blood; being at different times concealed at the abbey of Wilton, in the woods about Waltham, and with certain individuals in this city. (8) Having escaped this danger, by

(1) Godwin. Contin. Win.
(2) Godwin.
(3) Contin. Hist. Win.
(4) Harpsfield.
(5) Steph. Birchington.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Polyd. Virg.
(8) Steph. Birchington.

the subsequent disgrace and punishment of his adversary, he was afterwards honoured with different preferments; and at length the see of Canterbury being vacant, in 1333, he was, without any solicitation on his part, or any communication of councils between the parties, at one and the same time, elected by the monks in England, and appointed by the pope at Avignon, to that high dignity. (1)

If the birth of Edward II. at Caernarvon served to conciliate the affections of the Welch, his conduct upon coming to the throne served to estrange the loyalty of the English. Still, however, his weak and even profligate conduct almost disappears, when placed beside the perfidious and vindictive behaviour of his queen and her barons; who pursued this unfortunate monarch and his adherents to the last extremities of degradation and murder. It appears that Edward was a friend and benefactor to the venerable cathedral of this city, (2) though we are unable to trace his residence here at any time, except during the festival of Christmas, in the year 1319. (3) The chief pretence for the violences offered to him, was, that this weak prince was too much governed by the councils of the nobleman who derived his title from this city, (4) and of his son, Hugh Despenser the younger. Royal favourites, however, are the natural consequence of royal imbecility; and nothing is more certain, than that the very persons who went such lengths, to overthrow Gaveston and the Despensers, only aimed to establish their own power. In fact, they afterwards exercised a more despotic empire in this country, than those favourites had dared to attempt. Gaveston had been taken and beheaded, without any form of law, by certain powerful barons, before the queen was of age to take part in public business; nor

(1) Steph. Birchington. (2) Trussel, who quotes the following testimony of Edward's benefactions to the cathedral, from its archives:—

Ecclesia Wintoniensis
Suscipit a regis plurima dona manu.

(3) Stow's Annals. (4) The family of the De Quincey's having failed, Hugh Despenser, the elder, was created earl of Winchester, in the parliament held at York, in the year 1321. Hen. Knighton. Trussel.

did she appear openly in the conspiracy, which broke out in 1321, (1) against the Despensers. By this conduct she succeeded in her deep-laid scheme of being permitted to go abroad, with her eldest son prince Edward, under pretence of settling certain differences with foreign princes; but, in reality, to procure their assistance in the attack which she meditated upon her royal husband. Returning to England with men and money, in 1326, she exhibited to Europe the strange spectacle of a reigning king and queen of England at open war with each other. The latter having the advantage of superior talents, courage, and support, both from the haughty barons and the factious populace, especially the Londoners; and having also the young prince, heir apparent to the crown, in her custody; she was soon enabled to dictate terms to the vanquished and dispirited Edward. These were no less than that he should sign his own abdication; which step in a lawful king is at all times equivalent to signing his own death warrant. Whilst these things were carried on, the earl of Winchester had made a visit to this city, (2) in order to confirm it in the king's interest; but being obliged to return quickly to Bristol, which was particularly entrusted to his care, (3) he soon found himself besieged there by the queen and her victorious army. Having bravely defended the place, until it was on the point of being stormed; (4) he was induced to surrender, for the sake of the citizens: when the queen, without ceremony or delay, ordered him, the instant she had him in her power, to be hung as he was in his armour, and to be cut down and bowelled alive. Then, after exposing his body four days on the gallows, she caused it to be cut into morsels, and thrown to the dogs. (5) His head, however, was preserved, and sent to this city, where it was fixed upon a pole at the top of the castle gate; for the avowed purpose of terrifying the citizens of Winchester, (6) who were known to be attached to the same cause of royalty with their unfortunate earl. Such was the end of this brave old man, being then not less than

(1) Hen. Knighton. (2) Trussel.
(3) Hen. Knighton. Histor. Anglicæ. Polyd. Virg. (4) Polyd. Virg.
(5) Knighton. (6) Polyd. Virg.

ninety years of age. He is recorded for having been "great in virtue, wise in counsel, and valiant in arms;" (1) but these advantages were counterbalanced by the misfortunes of having a dissolute son, a weak prince, and an unpopular cause.

The execution of the earl of Winchester, in his armour, was an affront to chivalry; and the mode of his execution was an infringement of the charters of this city. (2) The present, however, was not a fit time for Winchester to claim her ancient rights; though it was a fit time for London to obtain fresh favours. (3) The fact is, in all the reigns distinguished for civil wars since the conquest, viz. in those of Stephen, John, and Henry III. no less than in the present reign, the Wintonians were always found on the side of allegiance, the Londoners on that of sedition.

Edward II. being now secured in prison, from which he was only delivered by the most treacherous and horrible kind of death, queen Isabella and her paramour, Roger Mortimer, enjoyed an absolute and despotic authority throughout the realm, in the name of the young king, Edward III. (4)

(1) Stow.

(2) In the time of the Saxons, different cities, as Trussel, who was a lawyer, observes, had different modes of punishing criminals. At Southampton they were drowned, at Northampton beheaded, and at Winchester they were mutilated, and had one eye bored out. Now, by the several charters of Winchester, granted since the conquest, it was confirmed to our city, that all trials and punishments of its citizens, in which class the earl was certainly to be reckoned, should be conducted as they had formerly been. The same writer produces the following case from Rot. 29. 43. Edw. III. in support of his assertion. The inhabitants of Wallingford having punished one of their inhabitants, convicted of felony, in the manner above described, a *Quo Warranto* was issued against them; which, being tried before the itinerant judges, at the assizes for Berkshire, and the inhabitants making it appear that their borough had obtained the same charter which had been granted to Winchester, where the custom in question had obtained, time out of mind, and did obtain at that very time; a verdict was given for the defendants.

(3) Their privileges were confirmed and extended in the first parliament held at Westminster after this revolution. Rym. Fæd.

(4) "His diebus Isabella & Rogerius de Mortuo-mari appropriaverunt sibi regalem potestatem, in tantum quod non erat quisquam qui pro regis aut regni commodo loqui auderet." Hen. Knighton, De Event. Ang.

who was proclaimed at the beginning of the year 1327; and they made the most perfidious and tyrannical use of it. This was no where more conspicuous than at our city; where they caused a parliament to meet, during the Lent of 1329. In the first place, they procured an act, obliging every town in England to furnish one man at arms, besides inferior soldiers; under pretence of defending the king's foreign dominions, but in reality to secure their own power: (1) in the next place, finding that many of the great barons who had hitherto supported them, began to be impatient under their yoke, as this city had been from the first, they were resolved to make a terrible example of their vengeance, such as might prevent any attempts to shake it off. The victim whom they fixed upon for this purpose was no less a person than the king's own uncle, Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent; an upright and virtuous nobleman, but weak and credulous. Taking advantages of these defects, they, by a manœuvre which is not unfrequently practised in bad governments, contrived the plot into which the unfortunate earl fell, by spreading a report that Edward II. was still alive at Corfe castle, long after they had caused him to be murdered in Berkley castle, and causing persons dressed up for the purpose, to represent him and his attendants. (2) The consequence was, that Edmund conceived the resolution, and began to prepare the means to set his supposed royal brother at liberty. (3) Being apprehended for this alleged crime, here at Winchester, the evening before the parliament met, he was committed prisoner to the castle, and tried and condemned to death in that assembly. But when the day came for his execution, not a man of any sort or degree whatsoever, of this city or neighbourhood, could be induced, by rewards or threats, to perform the office of headsman. Thus this illustrious and beloved

(1) See the article of his impeachment, in old French. Ap. Knighton.

(2) See his impeachment, also Thomæ de Walsingham's Ypodigma, Neustriæ.—The farce carried on at Corfe castle could not have been continued without the connivance of government; especially as John Deverel, governor of the castle, was one of Mortimer's creatures. Brady's Complete Hist.

(3) Ypodig.

personage stood on the scaffold before the castle gate, from morning until evening: when at length a mean wretch from the marshalsea prison, to save his own life, consented to take away that of the earl of Kent. (1) His body was buried in this city, in the church of the Black Friars, or Dominicans; who, together with two of the other mendicant orders, were accused of being accessary to this conspiracy, and with difficulty escaped punishment. (2)

This severity, instead of producing its intended effect, only served to excite the disaffected to more vigorous exertions against the tyrants. Accordingly, in the course of this very year, the barons, who attended the king, having concerted the means of giving him ocular proof of his mother's and Mortimer's criminality; (3) induced him to resolve upon taking the reins of government into his own hands. This determination was followed by his obliging the dowager queen to hide her crimes in retirement, and by consigning Mortimer, who was now become earl of March, to the death of a traitor; in whose impeachment a principle article was his conduct in the parliament held at Winchester, and his share in the death of the king's uncle, Edmund. (4)

Amongst those, who had shared in the guilt of Mortimer, yet who escaped partaking in his punishment, was the bishop, who governed this see next after Stratford. This was Adam de Orlton, an artful and unprincipled churchman; who having been first promoted to the see of Hereford, had been one of the most active agents of the barons in the first war which they raised against the king, in order to oblige him to banish the earl of Winchester, and his son, Hugh Despenser the younger, earl of Gloucester. (5) He was afterwards tried, and found guilty of this offence, by the ordinary secular tribunal, notwithstanding the opposi-

(1) "Edmundus captus & attachiatus & ad pœnam decollationis condempnatus...sicque stetit extra portam castelli, mortem expectans, usque ad horam vespertinam, quia nemo voluit eum decollare propter pietatem quam habebant de eo. Tandem venit unus ribaldus sceleratus de Marshalsiâ, & pro suâ vitâ habendâ, decollavit eum." Knighton.

(2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.

(5) Walsing. Ypodig.

tion of the other prelates; being the first bishop in England who underwent that disgrace. (1) He was accordingly deprived of all his property, and banished by the king. (2) Hence, when Isabella raised the standard of civil war against her husband, she was immediately joined by Orlton; who, marching with her party, disgraced his sacred ministry, by driving them forwards to the utmost lengths of rebellion. Being at Oxford, he preached upon those words, *My head, my head aketh;* (3) endeavouring to prove that, as the head of the kingdom was disordered, it was the duty of the members, independantly of him, to provide for their welfare. (4) The queen's cause was triumphant, and he was, by her interest, in the same year, viz. 1327, translated to the see of Worcester. He is accused of having been a principal instrument, not only in the deposition, but also in the murder of the unhappy Edward II. Admitting, however, that there are no crimes too black for the conscience of an ecclesiastic who has once abandoned himself to the current of his passions; yet truth obliges us to say, that the guilt of Orlton, as to this particular charge, seems rather doubtful. (5) Having escaped all punishment, and even inquiry, when Mortimer and his adherents were condemned; he afterwards gained the favour of Edward III. so far as to be employed by him as his ambassador at the court of France. Here he conducted himself with so much artifice, as to induce king Philip to

(1) Antiq. Britan. ap. Godwin.
(2) Ibid.
(3) II Kings, c. IV. v. 19.
(4) Walsingham.

(5) He is accused by modern writers of having invented and sent to Berkley castle, where the deposed king lay, the following ambiguous oracle, in the true Delphic style:— *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est;* which, by the mere disposition of a comma, at *nolite*, or at *timere*, will signify either that Edward was not to be killed, or that he was to be killed. But Richardson, in his notes upon Godwin, shews that this story is borrowed from the Chronicle of Alberic, who ascribes this oracle to an archbishop of Strigonium, in the preceding century, with respect to Gertrude, wife of Andrew, king of Hungary. But what is most conclusive on this head is, that when Edward III. accused Orlton to the pope of his different crimes, and particularly of his preaching rebellion against his father at Oxford, and causing his deposition: he does not say a word of his having promoted the inhuman tragedy at Berkley castle.

interest himself warmly with the pope, in order to get him translated a second time, (1) viz. from the see of Worcester, which he then held, to that of Winchester; (2) at that time, viz. in 1333, vacant by the promotion of bishop Stratford to Canterbury. In vain did his own king, who intended the see for Simon Montague, (3) oppose the measure, and represent to the court of Rome the divers enormities of which Orlton had been guilty. He eluded the charges brought against him, by an artful and well-penned apology, which still subsists for the examination of the curious. (4) In short, he carried his point at Rome, though Edward refused to admit him to the possession of his temporalities until the next year, when he granted this favour, at the request of the other prelates, in a parliament held at London. (5) He now took possession of his see in triumph. Some time after this, making a visit to the prior of the cathedral, Alexander, he was entertained by him, in the great hall of the priory, with the performances of Herbert, a celebrated minstrel of those times, who sung to him the popular songs of Winchester; how *Guy, earl of Warwick, overthrew and killed Colbrand, the Danish champion, under the walls of this city; and how queen Emma walked unhurt over the glowing plough-shares, in this cathedral.* (6) This prelate losing his eye sight, some years before his death, (7) was thereby incapacitated from mingling any more in the busy

(1) He is noted for being the first English bishop, who had yet been translated a second time, except Stigand, whose memory was infamous; and Richard Poore, whose merit and talents were transcendently great. This gave occasion to the following sarcastical verses, in the style of the age:—

Trinus erat Adam, talem suspendere vadam.
Thomam despexit. Wulstanum non bene rexit.
Swithunum maluit.—Cur?—Quia plus valuit.

Ex Archiv. Castr. Belv. Ang. Sac. vol. 1, p. 534.

N.B. The three patron saints, Thomas of Hereford, Wulstan of Worcester, and Swithun of Winchester, are here put to denote the churches themselves.

(2) Walsing. Ypodig. (3) Contin. Hist. Wigorn.

(4) See Apol. Adam de Orlton, Twysd. ap. 10 Scrip. (5) Godwin.

(6) MSS. Wolvesey. Ap. Tho. Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet. vol. 1, p. 89.

(7) Contin. Hist. Win.

scenes of life, and had leisure to repent of his past disorders. He died at Farnham in 1345, and was buried in a chapel, which he seems to have prepared for himself, in the cathedral. (1)

The reign of Edward III. at first seemed to promise great prosperity to Winchester, in consequence of the attention he paid to the staple commodity of England, which was also the article of trade that particularly concerned this city. In 1333 he appointed, for the convenience of foreigners, one general mart of wool, (2) which was most likely at our city, during the famous fair of St. Giles: and he even attempted to fix the price of that article at two shillings per stone. (3) But these ordinances were injudicious and impracticable, and therefore were not observed. (4) Four years later he adopted a much more wise plan, in totally forbidding the exportation of raw wool, as likewise the importation of foreign cloths; at the same time holding out due encouragement to the experienced workmen of Flanders, to settle and pursue their occupation in this country. (5) Finally, it being necessary that there should be fixed markets for the sale of wool, he appointed ten such staples, as they were called, for this purpose, in convenient places throughout the kingdom; of which our city was one, (6) and by its relative situation, seems to have been calculated to concentrate, in a great measure, the wool trade of the three counties of Hants, Wilts, and Dorset. This judicious and popular measure was no where more applauded than in this city, to which it promised to restore a degree of its former wealth and splendour. Accordingly, the king and council having pledged their oaths not to revoke this order; (7) the merchants of Winchester began, with spirit and vigour, to make preparations for availing themselves of it. For this purpose they purchased a

(1) " Sep. in Ecc. Wint. in capella propria. Richardson ap. Godwin.

(2) " Isto anno 1333, Statutum, Les Estaples, lanarum Anglicarum in uno certo loco, ad venditionem alienigenis coadunari, ut petra lanæ venderetur 2 solidis; sed mercatores non observaverunt." Knyghton.

(3) Ut supra. (4) Ut supra.

(5) Hen. de Knyghton. Walsing. Stow. (6) Iidem. (7) Iidem.

large tract of ground, which seems to have been part of the palace garden of Henry II. and which ever since has obtained the name of Staple Garden; (1) where they built large warehouses, and every other convenience for storing, sorting, and selling the wool; erecting also what was called the king's beam, with proper scales and standard weights, for weighing the said commodity. (2) We are not surprised at the attention which Edward paid to the wool trade, as it was chiefly from this he derived those pecuniary resources, which enabled him to achieve his splendid conquests abroad; conquests which, for the present, made France a land of orphans and widows, but which tended in the end to make England a province of France. These brilliant scenes, however, were clouded with disasters; which, even then, more than counterbalanced their advantages, particularly with respect to our city. In 1337, a French fleet arriving at Portsmouth, burnt it down. (3) In 1338, another fleet of fifty sail appeared before Southampton, and landed a large body of men. These killed all who opposed them; then entering into the houses, they instantly hung a great number of the most respectable inhabitants, whom they found there concealed. Lastly, they reduced the town, in its whole circumference, to a heap of ashes. (4) The destruction of this port of Winchester, and the key of its commerce, must have been highly detrimental to it, and a great drawback on its rising trade. A more heavy calamity however befel this city, and the new town of Southampton, just ten years afterwards, from that destructive pestilence, which, beginning in China, had swept over the face of the whole discovered globe, and entering into this island, spent its first fury in this neighbourhood. (5) It is true, provisions became cheap, for

(1) Trussel's MSS.

(2) These were in being, and one of the storehouses standing, in Trussel's time. Ibid.

(3) "Normanni intraverunt cum magnâ potentiâ in Portusmuth & miserunt in flammam ignis totam villam." Hen. de Knyghton.

(4) "Applicuerunt apud Suthamptoniam & interfecerunt in eâ quos repererunt, & rapuerunt, & plures de nobilioribus villæ in propriis domibus suspenderunt, & in flammam ignis totam villam in circuitu, immani crudelitate, dederunt; sed accurentibus compatriotis naves ascenderunt & altum mare petierunt." Hen. de Knyghton.

(5) "Tunc pestis dolorosa penetravit maritima per Suthamptoniam." Ibid. an. 1348.

want of mouths to consume them; (1) but, in the same proportion, labour became dear, for want of hands to execute it. (2) The most fatal stroke, however, to the prosperity of Winchester, that it had ever yet experienced, was the unexpected ordinance of the king, in 1363, to remove the English staples to his new acquired town of Calais, on the French coast; (3) which seemed to argue a desire, on his part, to turn the clothing trade into its ancient Flemish channels. This ordinance was in direct opposition to the plighted royal word, and gave too much occasion for the suspicion, that Edward's unrivalled successes abroad, had caused him to consider himself more as a foreign, than an English sovereign. The execution of this ordinance was the death blow to Winchester's prosperity. She had frequently risen from sieges and fires, with fresh vigour and splendor; she had as often recruited her population, after destructive pestilences; but this sudden drying up of her trade and commerce, after the extraordinary exertions she had lately made to increase them, she was never afterwards able to repair, and henceforward her decline from wealth and consequence was sensible and uniform.

Still, however, Winchester continued to be the second bishopric in point of dignity, and the first in point of opulence in the kingdom; while the talents, transactions, and merits of its pastors, by their charities, public works, and regular large establishment in this city, made some compensation for the absence of the royal court, and the decay of our commerce. Upon the decease of Adam de Orlton, the monks chose one of their own community, whose name and family could not fail of making him agree-

(1) According to Knygthon, a fat ox sold for four shillings, a cow for twelvepence, a sheep for three pence. Indeed, whole herds of cattle wandered through the fields, without any one to claim them.

(2) The following autumn the wages of a common reaper were at the enormous price of eight pence per day, of a mower at twelve pence per day, besides their food. Hence a great quantity of the harvest, instead of being housed, was left to rot on the ground. Hen. de Knyghton.

(3) Hen. de Knyghton.

able to the people of Winchester. This was John le Devenish, (1) who seems to have been son of the worthy and charitable magistrate of this city, whom we mentioned as the founder of St. John's House. The king had no objection to the promotion of this good monk, but he had, in his own mind, designed the see of Winchester for an ecclesiastic of great talents and merit, whom he had lately constituted his treasurer; namely, William de Edington, so called from the place of his birth, in the centre of Wiltshire: and as he could not set aside a regular canonical election, without infringing the liberties of the church, which he had sworn to maintain; he applied to the pope to make use of his privilege of provision, as it was termed, by means of which his favourite was appointed to the vacant bishopric. (2) On the other hand, John le Devenish was, by way of compromise, as it was called, constituted abbot of Canterbury. (3) Our bishop being in such high favour, in addition to the dignity of his see, we are not surprised he should have been appointed by the king prelate of his new instituted order of the garter, in 1350; which honour was to descend to his successors. He conducted himself, in the difficult post of treasurer, with great approbation, (4) and is only reproached with having coined certain kinds of money, viz. groats and half-groats, of less weight than they had hitherto been; by which means the price of labour, and of every commodity, rose beyond its former nominal value, and could never afterwards be brought back to it. (5) This complaint, however, argues an ignorance of the principles of finance. The depreciation of the species was, in the first instance, a benefit to government, which the enormous expences of the war probably rendered unavoidable; but, in the second place, the lessening of its real, could not fail to affect its nominal value, and thus produce the consequence complained of. (6) In 1357 Edington was promoted to the rank

(1) Chronic. Guil. Thorne de Abbat. Cant. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.
(4) Contin. Hist. Win. Ang. Sac. (5) Contin. Polych. Walsing. Ypod.
(6) Godwin, De Præsul. complains that, by pursuing the same measure, the species, in his time, was reduced to one third of its ancient value, and unwisely ascribes to this cause,

of chancellor, and in 1366 he was elected to the highest dignity to which an English churchman could aspire, the metropolitical see of Canterbury. This, however, he positively refused to accept, though authors are divided as to the motives of his refusal. One ascribes it to his humility, (1) another to his advanced age, (2) whilst a third attributes it to a motive of avarice, putting into his mouth the following expression:—*Though Canterbury is the higher rack, yet Winchester is the richer manger.* (3) How little he was then under the influence of avarice, appears from his works of piety and charity, and from his distributing almost all his remaining unappropriated money amongst the poor, during his life time. (4) He was the founder of a college of secular clergy, at his native place of Edington; (5) which, at the request of the Black Prince, who was an admirer of a certain order of hermits, called Bon-hommes, he changed into a convent of that order. (6) He was likewise a benefactor to other religious houses, but most of all to his cathedral church, where his memory has not obtained that consideration to which it is entitled. (7) The fact is, he actually began the great work of rebuilding the nave, the whole credit of which is ascribed to his successor; and he provided a considerable sum of money for carrying it on, after his death. (8) He died at the latter end of the year 1366, and was buried in the cathedral, where his chantry, tomb, and epitaph are still to be seen. (9)

The death of Edington made place for a prelate, whose public works and beneficial institutions, having reached our own times, and extended

that the nobility, in Elizabeth's reign, could not live with the splendour they had done in that of Edward III.

(1) Harpsfield, Hist. Ecc. Sæc. XIV, c. XIX. (2) Hen. Wharton. Contin. Hist. Win.

(3) Godwin. (4) Chronic. Anonym. Contin. Hist. Win.

(5) Ex Literis fundat. ap. Harpsfield. (6) Monastic. Stephens, sub finem.

(7) See our Survey.

(8) "Testamento condito præcipit ut de bonis suis expenderetur ad perfectionem navis ecclesiæ cathedralis Winton a se inchoatæ" Registr. Lang. in Contin. Wint.

(9) See our Survey.

to a class of men, who hold in their hands the keys of the temple of fame; he is by far the most renowned of all our bishops, and is regarded in this city with a kind of religious veneration. This was the celebrated personage, now known by the name of William de Wykeham; who was born of a father, at the neighbouring town of Wickham, either too mean to claim a sirname, or too obscure to have it recorded. (1) Our young clerk, however, proved the truth of his motto before he adopted it, that *Manners* (mores) or merit *makyth man.* (2) He was endowed from nature with transcendent talents, and began, from his early youth, to cultivate them with unrivalled diligence. His parents being in narrow circumstances, he was chiefly indebted for his education to the liberality of Nicholas Uvedale, lord of the manor of Wickham, and constable of Winchester castle. (3) This was conducted, first at the place of his birth, (4) and afterwards at a school in this city, which stood on the very spot where he afterwards founded his college. (5) In the character of a student he was distinguished, not less by his piety than his diligence, (6) He was accustomed every morning to frequent the cathedral church, and to dedicate the day by hearing the mass, which a good monk, by name Pekis, regularly performed there, in a certain chapel of the blessed virgin. (7) The pious sentiments which he had experienced upon this spot, in his youth, seem to have determined him afterwards, in the choice which he made of it for his sepulchre. (8) The studies which

(1) Chaundler mentions him by his Christian name alone. Godwin and Dr. London call him Perot. Harpsfield labours to prove that his family name was Wickham. Bishop Lowth upon the whole, thinks it must be either Long or Aas. Life of W. W. p. 9.

(2) Harpsfield signifies that this motto is no more than the translation of the Latin proverb:

Suam cuique mores fortunam fingunt.

In Vit. W. W. Hist. Ecc. Sæc. XIV.

(3) Godwin. Harpsfield. Chaundler. (4) Harpsfield.

(5) Lowth's Life of W. W. ex MS. Col. Wint. p. 13. (6) Ibid.

(7) " Young Wykeham was constant in his daily attendance, and fervent in his devotions at this mass, viz. Pekis magge, so called from the name of a monk of the convent, who usually officiated in it." Lowth, p. 278.

(8) Ibid. p. 277.

he cultivated were arithmetic, mathematics, logic, divinity, and, above all, the canon and civil laws. (1) It was chiefly, however, to his superior skill in mathematics, that he owed his fame and rise in the world. (2) He was first taken into the service of his patron, Uvedale, as his secretary; (3) in which situation he seems to have given the first specimen of his talents in the mathematical science, by repairing and altering the castle, (4) of which Uvedale was at that time governor. It is certain also, that he was for some time in the employment of his predecessor, bishop Edington; by whom he was ordained priest, and recommended to the notice of Edward III. His first office at court, which was that of surveyor of the king's works. (5) points out the talents for which he was then most celebrated; and the buildings or repairs, which he executed at Dover, Queenborough, Windsor, (6) and other castles, gave ample scope for the exercise of them. His abilities were afterwards found to be equally calculated for the management of more important business; and he became successively secretary of state, keeper of the privy seal, chancellor, (7) and, in short, the king's chief and confidential counsellor, in the management of all public matters. (8) In reward for his services, the king heaped ecclesiastical benefices, in such profusion, upon him, (9) that we

(1) Godwin. Harpsfield.

(2) " R. Edwardus Gulielmi, ut exquisiti geometræ, novique cujusdam Euclidis, consilio usus est." Harpsfield.

(3) " Vicetabellionis constabulario castri Wintoniensis adhærebat." Thom. Chaundler. Cancel. Oxon. in Vit. W. W. Ang. Sac.

(4) It is not likely that the king would have entrusted such great works as he did to his skill, unless he had already given proofs of it. On the other hand, our castle manifestly appears to have undergone some essential alterations, about the time that Wickham resided in it. See our Survey.

(5) Harpsfield. Godwin. Lowth.

(6) Lowth, who rejects many popular stories told of this celebrated prelate, says, that little credit is to be given to what is reported of his causing the following ambiguous sentence to be inscribed upon the round tower of Windsor, after he had finished it:— This made Wykeham. Certainly it savours very little of his simple and modest character.

(7) Godwin, &c. (8) Iidem.

(9) See Contin. Hist. Win. Lowth, &c.

should condemn any other clergyman, except Wykeham, for accepting of them; and we are only induced to excuse him, in consequence of the proofs we have still remaining, that he only received the revenues of the church with one hand, to expend them in her service with the other. But the benefice, which the king seems long to have had in his eye for his favourite architect, was the see of Winchester, whenever it should become vacant. (1) Accordingly, upon the death of Edington, he recommended Wykeham, in such strong terms, to the monks, as a proper person to fill it, that they were unanimous in their election of him. (2) The elect was no less acceptable to the pope than he was to the king; (3) but the former having, in Edington's life time, *reserved*, as the canon law expresses it, the next appointment to this see, he refused to confirm the election of Wykeham; though, on the other hand, he appointed him, by a provisory bull, to the self same dignity. (4) Being now one of the chief prelates of the English church, we are assured that he set about, with zeal and diligence, to fulfil the duties of his station; exciting himself to religious fervor, practising an abstemious and mortified life, visiting the sick, relieving the wants of the poor, solving intricate cases of conscience, and propagating the morality of the gospel, not less by his example than by his discourses. (5) Wykeham continued nine years after his consecration in high favour with his sovereign, and was employed by him in the principal affairs of state; when, in 1376, the old king being sunk into a voluptuous indolence and stupidity, he was undermined by the duke of Lancaster, who laid numberless misdemeanors to his charge, but principally that of having embezzled the public money, which had been paid into his hands. (6) In vain did he petition to be heard in his own defence, and to be allowed to explain in what manner all the sums in question had been spent in the public service. (7) The revenues of this see were sequestered, and he continued under disgrace till nearly the death of Edward. Wykeham having at length

(1) Lowth. (2) Chaundler. (3) Lowth.
(4) Lowth, Appendix 5. (5) Thom. Chaundler. Vit. W. W.
(6) Lowth. sect. IV. (7) Ibid. John Stow.

recovered his temporalities, returned to Winchester, where he was received in solemn procession. (1) He then set about executing those great designs, which he had planned for the permanent advantage of his diocese. These were, in the first place, the two famous colleges, which he built and endowed, one at Winchester, and the other at Oxford, for furnishing his diocese with a constant supply of learned and pious clergy; (2) which colleges were admirably adapted to combine their respective studies and discipline to the same important end, and mutually to relieve and support each other. (3) In the second place, we must mention, not only his rebuilding the grand nave of the cathedral, which is generally known; but also his zealous efforts for reviving the strict discipline and edifying devotion of the monks and other clergy who served it: for which purpose he drew up a body of statutes, every way worthy of his prudence and zeal. (4) His pastoral solicitude, however, extended itself not to them alone, but also to the other numerous clergy and religious of his diocese, whom he visited in person; (5) and, in particular, he gathered together and supported a great number of the monks, who, in consequence of the dissolution of the alien priories, during the war with France, were left destitute, and nearly in a starving condition. (6) The vigour and perseverance by which he reco-

(1) Godwin.

(2) Polydore Virgil, speaking of these two learned societies, says; "Ex istis collegiis, velut ex equo Trojano, viri, omni tempore virtute excellentes, prodeunt." Hist. Anglic. l. xix.

(3) Harpsfield, speaking of the statutes of Wykeham's college, says; "In quibus (legibus) nec Solonis nec Lycurgi nec Platonis, imo nex eximiam sapientissimi & christianissimi legislatoris prudentiam desiderabis."—N. B. Amongst the grateful sons of Wykeham, no one has exceeded this author. Speaking of himself, he says,; "Gulielmum Wickamum, ut optimum parentem agnosco, suscipio, colo, cui si quid in me doctrinæ, virtutis, pietatis, & catholicæ religionis, maxime acceptum refero. Quippe qui ab ineunte ætate, in Wintoniensi primum, deinde et Oxoniensi ejus collegio, ad omnem ingenii, doctrinæ & pietatis cultum capessendum institutus sim." Hist. Ecc. Ang. Sac. sæc. xiv, c. xx.

(4) Harpsfield. Lowth. (5) Registr. Wyk.

(6) Harpsfield.—Honest John Stow, speaking of Wykeham, says; "Neither do I doubt but that he, that thus lived, is now with God, whom I beseech to raise up many like bishops in England." Annals.

vered the famous hospital of St. Cross, near this city, from the rapaciousness of its successive masters, and restored it to its first charitable institute, have been celebrated, amongst his other good works, by a panegyrist worthy of his subject; (1) who, however, omits to mention innumerable instances, which may still be traced, of his beneficence to the other religious establishments and churches of his diocese, as well as to its poor, twenty-four of whom he regularly supported, as part of his own family. In a word, he rebuilt churches, repaired high roads, paid the debts of the insolvent prisoners, and performed so many great actions, that we are at a loss, whether to admire him most as a statesman, a bishop, or a Christian. He died in 1404, and was buried in a beautiful chantry, (2) which he had prepared for himself in the cathedral; to the preservation and decoration of which, due attention has at all times been paid by his grateful sons, the Wykehamists.

During the inglorious and troubled reign of the second Richard, which commenced upon the death of his grandfather, Edward III. June 21, 1377, if Winchester was not distinguished by many important civil events, it was at least exempt from those calamities, both foreign and domestic, which befel many other parts of the kingdom; though these have been falsely related also of our city, by former historians. It is true, that within the space of a month after the coronation, and at a time when the conqueror of Cressy and Poictiers was imagined abroad to be still living; a French fleet ravaged the whole sea coast of Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, destroying many towns, and killing great numbers of the inhabitants. (3) In particular they made a complete conquest of the Isle of Wight, excepting Carisbrook castle, and laid the inhabitants under contributions; (4) still, however, it is absolutely false, though it has been repeatedly asserted, that they "marched up the country, and laid siege to this city, and that the inhabitants, forming themselves into a body, furiously

(1) Lowth, sect. III.
(2) See our Survey.
(3) Walsingham, Ypodig. Polydore Virgil. Stow.
(4) Ypodig. Stow.

attacked the besiegers, and drove them back to their ships, with great precipitation." (1) The French, though masters of the sea, for the space of several months, never dared to advance into the land, or out of sight of their shipping; and the nearest place to Winchester, which they ever approached, in this reign, was the new-built town of Southampton: but this being strongly fortified, according to the tactics of that age, and bravely defended by Sir John de Arundell, easily baffled their attempts to take it. (2) Still more alarming to the kingdom in general, were those democratic insurrections, under Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and the seditious priest, John Ball; which being grounded on the new system of Wyckliff, (3)

(1) Description of the City, &c. of Winchester, by the Rev. Tho. Warton, p. 21.—The Anonymous Historian of Winchester, vol. II, p. 88, literally copies Warton, except that he adds, by a fiction of his own invention, that "a great number of the clergy" assisted the inhabitants of this city in driving back the French; and that he refers, in a note, to the original author of this pretended siege of Winchester, namely, to Rapin, Hist. Eng. by Tindal, vol. I, p. 453.—The fact is, that Rapin, Tindal, Warton, and Anonymous, have all of them mistaken Winchelsea for Winchester; the former place having been besieged by the French, after they had burnt Portsmouth, Rye, Hastings, and other places on ths coast, soon after the coronation of Richard, in 1377, which town of Winchelsea was bravely defended by the abbot of Battle, as we are informed by Walsingham, Stow, and other authors. —The foreign writer, Rapin, falls into an incredible number of errors, in relating the history of this country; many of which are corrected by his translator, Tindal. The latter, however, sometimes, instead of diminishing, adds to their number; as where he speaks of the bishop of Oxford, in the reign of Edward II. whereas every one knows, that no such title was ever heard of, until the reign of Henry VIII. See Rapin, vol. I, p. 399, note.

(2) Ypodig.

(3) The learned Dr. Collier, giving an account of the doctrines of Wyckliff, in his Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, vol. I, p. 583, says, "Notwithstanding his depressing the authority of the church, opening a new prospect of wealth to the laity, and overstraining the authority of the prince, yet some of his doctrines are very unserviceable to the crown, and sap the foundations of civil government. For this purpose, he declares against the lawfulness of oaths, requires an exact probity to give a title to property and power, affirms that an ill man forfeits his right to dominion, and that, as long as a prince continues in mortal sin his prerogative is lost, neither does the royal style properly belong to him."—In the same historian may be seen the invectives of this innovator, and of his followers, against the capital punishment of criminals, against war, universities, colleges, &c.

threatened the total overthrow of all civil government, and the dissolution of society, so early as the fourteenth century. It is true that this popular frenzy, which began and chiefly raged in Kent, and the maritime counties on the eastern coast, very justly alarmed the whole kingdom; and that the cities at the greatest distance from the scenes of these commotions fancied these furious levellers were at their very gates. (1) Nevertheless, there are no proofs, either in the general histories of England, or in the particular records of this city, to justify what has hitherto been believed; that "a party of Wat Tyler's army repaired to this city; and, finding the gates shut against them, plundered the suburbs, broke open the prisons, and demolished a number of principal buildings." (2) The present reign, however, did not go off without some civil occurrences relating to this city, and those of a more pleasing nature than what have just now been mentioned. In 1388, Richard and his queen appear to have visited this city, in the progress which they made into the west; from whence they proceeded towards the northern parts of the kingdom. (3) Four years later, viz. in 1392, (4) the inhabitants of London having incurred the royal indignation,

as likewise their justification of the murder of Simon Sudbury, by Wat Tyler's rabble.—Amongst the *opiniones & conclusiones Magistri Joannis Wyckliff*, to the condemnation of which the name of our illustrious prelate, Wykeham, stands next to that of the archbishop of Canterbury, were the following:—"Error 5. Est contra scripturam quod viri ecclesiastici habeant possessiones temporales.—Error 7. Nullus est dominus civilis, nullus est episcopus, nullus prælatus, dum est in peccato mortali." Hen. Knyghton, de Event. Ang. l. v. col. 2648. ap. Twysden.

(1) Knyghton.

(2) The Rev. Tho. Warton's Description, p. 21. Anonymous Historian, p. 89.—It appears that the former of these writers, in an oblivious moment, has transferred the transactions in the borough of London to this city. Certainly there was here no prison, without the walls, for the insurgents to break open. On the other hand, if they had destroyed the principal buildings without the walls, we should have had some account of these excesses in the records of the college, Wolvesey palace, Hyde abbey, and St. Cross, which are all so situated.

(3) Ypodigma Neustriæ.

(4) The Anonymous Historian, with his usual inaccuracy, refers this parliament to he year 1388, and ascribes the calling of it to bishop Wykeham, whom he makes, at that time, chancellor of the kingdom; all which circumstances, with others there related, are equally inaccurate.

and suffered the loss of their privileges, a parliament was summoned at Winchester, which granted the king the heavy subsidy of a tenth of all ecclesiastical property, and a fifteenth of all lay property, throughout the kingdom, towards the charges of the war then carried on in Ireland; and to enable the dukes of Lancaster and Glocester to proceed to France, and make peace with that country. (1) Nor must it be omitted that, in the parliament held at Shrewsbury, in the year 1398, towards the conclusion of this reign, the memory of the unfortunate earl of Winchester was vindicated; the statutes of exile and disherison, against him and his son, which passed in the 14th and 15th of Edward II. being annulled, on the equitable ground, that they had been condemned without trial. (2) We do not find, however, that Thomas Despenser, who obtained this act of justice due to his family, laid claim to the earldom of Winchester, though we cannot discover any bar to the validity of such a claim.

Scarcely had the nation forgotten the violence and injustice, which had seated the immediate predecessor of Richard II. on the throne; when this prince, circumvented by a powerful confederacy of great men, who had but lately renewed their oaths of allegiance to him, (3) found himself constrained, in 1399, to abdicate the crown; which, of course, was a prelude to his untimely end. No doubt this monarch, besides great incapacity, had great faults, from which the nation suffered in her exterior relations, as well as in her domestic peace; but how slight were the miseries, which these occasioned, when compared with those resulting from the attempt to redress them! This interruption of the regular succession was immediately productive of various conspiracies and insurrections; and, in the end, caused dreadful wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster, which set brother against brother, in mortal fight, and drenched the fields of England with its best blood. Our venerable Wykeham was still alive, when the revolution took place. He was too sage to be imposed

(1) Ypodig. Hen. Knyght.
(2) Rot. Parlm. 21 Ric. II.
(3) Ibid.

upon by the pretexts on which it was grounded; (1) and too grateful to forget his obligations to the deposed monarch, and his heroical father, the Black Prince: but, as Henry of Bolingbroke appeared to be firmly seated, and without a competitor, in the royal throne, under the name of Henry IV. he saw that it was now a duty to yield obedience to his government. This he did, however, without taking any active part in the government, or even attending parliament. (2) On the contrary, he henceforward confined himself to his diocese; and passed the remaining years of his life in executing the office of a good pastor towards his flock, and in preparing for his own dissolution. It was, perhaps, chiefly for the purpose of gaining the friendship of this illustrious prelate, who was so justly respected throughout the whole kingdom, no less than in this city; that, having contracted a match with Joan, dowager duchess of Britanny, Henry chose to meet her in this city, and to have the magnificent ceremony of his marriage performed in Wykeham's cathedral. (3) This was the only civil event of any importance, that is recorded of our city during the present reign. (4)

Henry IV. died at the beginning of the year 1413, and was succeeded by his son, Henry V. This magnanimous prince, whose great qualities would perhaps have shone forth no less brightly, and probably more beneficially to his country, had he never been a conqueror; received his education chiefly at Winchester college, Oxford, under the tuition of his uncle, Beaufort. (5) Thus early had the foundation of our Wykeham, in that university, attained to superior renown, as a school of learning. (6)

(1) Knyght. (2) Lowth's Life of Wykeham, sect. VII. (3) Ypodig. Neust.

(4) Where genuine materials for the history of this city are scarce, the late compiler is too apt to fill up the vacancy with his own inventions. Such are the pretended parliament held by Henry at Winchester, after his marriage, and the fictitious siege of this city, with the destruction of its suburbs in the same year, by the partisans of the earl of Northumberland, who, after all, never advanced nearer to this city than Shrewsbury, where they were overcome, and their valiant general, young Hotspur, was slain. See Anonymous Hist. of Winch. v. II, p. 91. (5) Stow's Annals.

(6) Some authors substitute Queen's College for New College, but we adhere to the authority of Stow.

The greater part of his short reign Henry passed on the Continent, in achieving those conquests, which raised his own and his people's military character to so great a height. Previously, however, to his embarking for the French coast, we find him making a certain stay at the castle of this city, with the princes of the blood and all his great barons; and there receiving in the most solemn manner, the archbishop of Bourges and the other ambassadors, who came, in the name of Charles, the French king, to make a final effort to settle the rights and claims of the rival monarchs, without bloodshed. (1) The aforesaid prelate had other conferences with the bishop of this city, then chancellor of the kingdom; but the pretensions of the two courts were so widely different, that no other but the last fatal argument of the sword was found capable of settling them. The English monarch accordingly proceeded from Winchester to Southampton, and having there (2) purged his army of the lurking traitors, with which it was infected, set sail with it to France. The richest prize of his valour in the king's estimation, his queen Catharine, who came over to England for the purpose of being crowned its queen, seems to have passed through Winchester, in her way to Southampton, where she embarked, with the duke of Bedford and a powerful military reinforcement, to join her husband, a little before his premature death, in 1422. (3)

The bishop of this city, lately mentioned, was Henry Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, by his third wife, Catharine Swyneford. He had studied both at Cambridge and at Oxford, (4) but chiefly at Aix, in France; where he applied himself to the branches of literature most necessary, in that age, for a statesman, the canon and civil law. (5) He had been thrust into the bishopric of Lincoln, in a very arbitrary and

(1) Polydore Virg. Holingshead. Speed.

(2) Polydore Virg. The Anonymous Historian, p. 91, represents the conspirators as being apprehended in this city.

(3) Stow's Annals.

(4) Notes ap. Godwin.

(5) Ibid. Collier.

irregular manner, by Boniface IX; (1) when, upon the death of the venerable Wykeham, he was, at the recommendation of his half-brother, Henry IV. translated to the important and opulent see of Winchester: (2) soon after which he was graced with the scarlet hat and cloak, and became known under the title of the Cardinal of England. Had he continued a lay nobleman, it is probable that his character would have descended to posterity in the brightest colours. Certain it is, that he was a sage councellor of the state, an able politician, an intrepid general, and a true friend to his country. (3) Hence it is not surprising, that his influence should have been great in the cabinets of his brother and of his nephew; and that, during the early part of the reign of Henry VI. his little nephew and god-son, he should have been considered as the main prop of the state. Being involved in the vortex of worldly politics, it is true, he gave too much scope to the passions of the great, and did not allow himself sufficient leisure to attend to the spiritual concerns of his diocese. Nevertheless, there is no solid ground in history for representing him as that ambitious, covetous, and reprobate character, which he has been drawn by an immortal painter of human manners; (4) who has robbed his memory, in order to enrich that of his adversary, termed, by popular prejudice, the *good duke Humphry* of Gloucester. If he was rich, it must be admitted that he did not squander away his money upon unworthy pursuits, but chiefly employed it in the public service, to the great relief of the subjects; (5) as likewise in finishing his cathedral, which was left incomplete by his predecessor; (6) in repairing Hyde-abbey, relieving pri-

(1) John Beckingham, bishop of that see, being, contrary to his wishes, translated to Litchfield, to make place for Beaufort; the consequence was, that Beckingham refused the proffered diocese, and chose to become a private monk at Canterbury. Godwin, De Præs.

(2) Ibid. Contin. Hist. Win. (3) See Polydore Virg. Stow's Ann. ad an. 1448.

(4) Shakespear.

(5) See an account of the sums lent by him to the state, or expended upon it, in Vetust. Monum. vol. II. on plates, 45, &c.

(6) See our Survey.

soners, and other works of piety and charity. (1) But what has chiefly redeemed the injured character of Cardinal Beaufort, in this city and neighbourhood, is the new foundation which he made of the celebrated hospital of St. Cross. Far the greater part of the present building was raised by him, and he added to the establishment of his predecessor, Henry de Blois, funds for the support of thirty-five more brethren, two chaplains, and three women, (2) who appear to have been hospital nuns: their business was to attend the brethren, when any of them were sick. It has been admitted by those who are not very favourable to his memory, that towards the end of his life, he directed his thoughts chiefly towards the welfare of his diocese. (3) It appears also, that he prepared himself with resignation and contrition for his last end; and the collected, judicious, and pious dispositions made in his testament, (4) the codicil of which was signed but two days before his dissolution, (5) may justly bring into discredit the opinion that he died in despair. (6) He departed this life April 11, 1447, and was buried in the most elegant and finished chantry in the kingdom. (7)

If Winchester possessed few attractions for the late busy and warlike monarch, this was not the case with his son Henry VI. to whose love of literature and devotion, the college, cathedral, and other similar establishments here, furnished unfailing sources of delight. In the ancient register of the college, (8) we discover that this prince made several visits to our city, which are not noticed by our ordinary chroniclers. He came first to Winchester in the year 1440, (9) at which time being weary of the vassalage in which his uncle, the duke of Glocester, had kept him, he threw himself into the arms of his great uncle, Cardinal Beaufort; by whose advice he

(1) Godwin. Collier, Ecc. Hist. (2) Godwin. Lowth's Life of W. W.

(3) Godwin. Collier.

(4) Published in the Collection of Royal and Noble Wills, by J. Nichols, an abstract of which is given in Vetust. Monum.

(5) Viz. 9th Apr. 1447. Ibid. Contin. Hist. Win.

(6) Shakespear. (7) See our Survey.

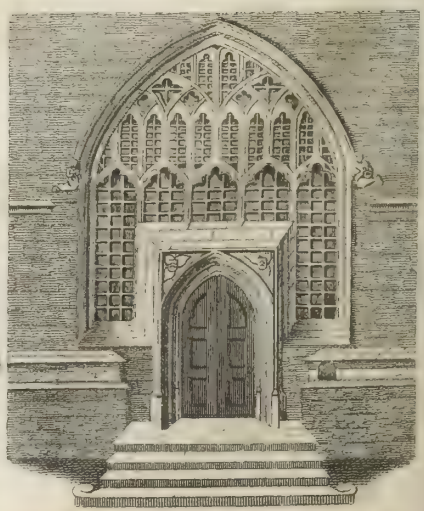
(8) Published by Lowth, Life of W. W. Appendix, No. XIII. (9) Ibid.

North Eati View of St MARY's COLLEGE Winton.



North View of the Middle Tower.





Part of the West End of the Library.

Published as the Act directs March 25 1809 by Thos Milne Winchester

released the duke of Orleans, long a prisoner in England, and sent over commissioners to France, of whom the Cardinal himself was one, to make peace with that country. (1) The king's principal business, however, in this city, at the present time, was to learn the œconomy, discipline, and plan of studies established by Wykeham, in his celebrated establishment here; it being his determination to form another, exactly upon the same plan, near his palace of Windsor. (2) This he accordingly executed, by the foundation of Eton college; in the establishment and forming of which, he made use of William Waynflete, who had been head master of Winchester college, and now was employed in the same capacity, and afterwards in that of provost at Eton. (3) This establishment was intended by Henry to supply his magnificent foundation of King's College, Cambridge, in the same manner as Winchester College supplies New College, Oxford. He came hither a second time in November 1441, (4) after a truce had been happily obtained with the different foreign powers; and at the very time when his ambassador, the earl of Suffolk, was entering into a contract of marriage, by proxy for him, with Margaret of Anjou. (5) On this occasion, he confirmed all the privileges of the college; and having assisted at the solemn mass and vespers, performed on the festival of St. Cecily, besides the usual offering, he gave a sum of money for the decoration of the high altar. (6) His next progress to Winchester, which was at the end of March, in the following year, seems to have been for the purpose of giving the meeting to his new married queen, who landed in the course of the next month at Porchester, and renewed her marriage contract with Henry, at the Premonstratensiam abbey of Tichfield, (7) which being under the jurisdiction of Beaufort, it is probable that he officiated at the ceremony. The king now left, as a present to the college, his best robe but one, lined with sable. (8) We find him here, for the fourth time, in the

(1) Stow. Rapin. (2) Lowth, Life of W. W. p. 196. (3) Ibid.

(4) Reg. Vet. Colleg. By a different register of the college it appears, that the king was also here in the intermediate time, viz. 1442.

(5) Stow. (6) Reg. Colleg. (7) Stow. (8) Reg. Colleg.

following year, (1) when the cardinal was drawing fast towards his dissolution; and a fifth time in 1448, for the purpose of honouring the instalment of his friend, bishop Waynflete, in the cathedral of Winchester, (2) whom he had caused to be exalted to that high dignity. The day after this solemnity, he assisted at the high mass, performed at the college; where, besides his regular offering, (3) he made a present to it of a chalice of gold, and ten pounds for the purchase of two golden cruets, (4) for the use of the altar, and a sufficient sum for providing an additional portion for the students, on the ensuing feast of their patroness, the blessed Virgin Mary. (5) Henry's last visit to Winchester, which took place in 1449, was of longer continuance, and upon more important business. He held a parliament there, which lasted a whole month, viz. from the 16th of June to the 16th of July. (6) The chief object of this parliament seems to have been to provide, if possible, some means for retaining the English conquests in France; which were now falling off, more rapidly than they had been gained; and which, in fact, were soon after reduced to the port of Calais, and its dependent territory. During this interval, we have a regular journal of this religious prince's devotions, which were sometimes paid at the cathedral church, and sometimes at the college chapel, according to the festivals that were celebrated; as likewise of the prelates who officiated at vespers, or high mass, on these occasions. These were, besides the diocesan, Waynflete, Thomas Beckington, bishop of Bath and Wells, who

(1) Reg. Colleg.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Viz. 13s. 4d.

(4) Regist. Colleg.

(5) "Ex suâ magnâ gratiâ dedit 4s. 4d. pro unâ pietantiâ, habendâ inter socios et scholares in festo Purificationis B. M. ex tunc proxime sequente." Regist.

(6) Our ordinary chroniclers and historians do not take notice of this parliament; but the authority of the register here quoted, is so authentic and so precise, that the fact itself cannot be called in question. "A. D. 1449, A. R. Hen. VI. 27, viz. 16 Jun. in parliamento ejusdem regis tento hic apud Wynton cum prorogatione dierum usque ad 16 Julii," &c. Vit. Thomæ de Beckington, a Th. Chaundlero, Cancel. Oxon. Ang. Sac. p. II.

had been brought up at the college here, (1) and who proved himself a liberal benefactor to it; John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, then chancellor of England; William Askew, bishop of Salisbury; and Adam Moleynes, bishop of Chichester, who was keeper of the privy seal and clerk of parliament. (2) On one occasion, when the king assisted at the college chapel, he presented a golden tabernacle for the high altar. (3) Nor were this pious monarch's benefactions confined to the church and college. For finding in the desolation which appeared upon the face of this city, the fatal consequences of the removal of the staple from it, by his ancestor Edward III. about fourscore years before; he granted at his first visit here, in 1440, the sum of forty marks annually, to the mayor and aldermen, for its benefit; to be paid out of the duties upon the cloth sold in Winchester and its suburbs. (4) This consideration they continued to receive during the space of ten years; when, by a clause in an act of parliament, held at Leicester, particularly affecting corporations, they found themselves deprived of that advantage. They therefore, in 1452, addressed an humble petition to their royal benefactor, setting forth their distress, and humbly begging that the aforesaid grant might be renewed to them, nothwithstanding the late act. (5) By the tenor of the petition, we learn the following interesting particulars:—That the city was then accustomed to pay to the crown, for the royalties of Winchester, yearly, 112 marks; and 40 shillings per annum to the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen; besides a tax that had lately been imposed of the 15th penny. In addition to this, they

(1) See his arms and devices in the college windows. "Die S S. A. A. Petri & Pauli. R. P. M. Th. Beckington Ep. Bathon. & Wellens. totum officium illius diei in hoc collegio solemniter exequente, & totum collegium ipso die lautissime convivante." Reg. Colleg.—There is not the smallest authority for that fable of the nameless Historian, that "Henry VI. was sumptuously entertained here in 1449, by the master, warden, and fellows of the college." He has probably mistaken for this, the entertainment given at New College to Henry's ancestor, John of Gaunt, recorded by Lowth, Life of W. W. p. 199.

(2) Reg. Colleg. (3) Ibid.

(4) Petition of Winchester, 30 Hen. VI. in the Tower. (5) Ibid.

were obliged to keep the city walls and gates in good and defensible repair. These several charges added together, made a sum, which it would indeed have been easy for them to raise in the time of their former prosperity, but now they represented that 997 houses were actually empty of inhabitants, and 17 parish churches were shut up; which diminution of population caused the assessments to fall so heavy on certain persons, that some of them had no less than four marks to pay each one, for his own share. Henry was touched with the distresses of a place, for which he bore so particular a regard; and, at the hazard of incurring the odium of parliament, by acting in opposition to one of their late ordinances, he granted the petition of this city, to its full extent. (1)

In other respects Winchester continued quiet and undisturbed, whilst frantic riot convulsed the metropolis and its neighbourhood; where Jack Cade, a robber and murderer, (2) under the name of Captain Mendall, (3) undertook to redress public grievances, and make the nation happy. At the same time similar excesses prevailed in the counties on both sides of this, viz. in Sussex and in Wiltshire. (4) In the latter of these, one of the prelates whom we have mentioned, as lately officiating in solemn state at Winchester, William Askew, bishop of Salisbury, was dragged from the altar, as he was performing divine service at Edington, and murdered by the rabble, for no other reason, than that he attended the court and was the king's confessor. (5) At length, an all-wise Providence, which seems to have designed, amongst other ends, to perfect the virtue of that beneficent, merciful, and saint-like king, Henry VI. and to render him worthy of that celestial crown, which was the chief object of his ambition; permitted him to be first bereaved of his grandeur, and then of his life, with circumstances of the greatest insult and barbarity. (6) This revolution was a heavy misfortune to

(1) Billa Hen. VI. 1mo Feb. ann. 30, ejusdem. Ibid.

(2) Royal proclam. against Cade. Polyd. Virg. l. XXIII.

(3) Stow. (4) Ibid. (5) Viz. June 10, 1450. Godwin, De Præs.

(6) No prince ever underwent greater or more numerous vicissitudes of fortune than Henry VI. Born to the inheritance of the kingdom of England, and of a great part of France,

Winchester, in depriving it of a prince, who had manifested so great a partiality for it, and in causing it, on this very account, to be considered by the reigning prince, as a place disaffected to his government.

This prince, who now assumed the title of Edward IV. was the grandson of that earl of Cambridge, who suffered the death of a traitor at Southampton, for a conspiracy against Henry V. as he was embarking upon his expedition to France. Though nothing can excuse the ambition of Edward, which caused torrents of blood to flow from one end of England to the other; yet, having obtained his object, he proved himself moderate and wise. In the first parliament held by him, upon his coming to the throne, he caused a general act of oblivion to be passed, (1) with the exception of a very few individuals. This included the citizens of Winchester in general; to whom, of course, notwithstanding their attachment to the deposed monarch,

he was proclaimed at Paris sovereign of both countries in 1422, being then not a year old. Having been crowned under this title at Westminster, he afterwards was crowned under the same title at Paris, in the year 1430, by the cardinal bishop of Winchester. The course of his victories in France, being first stopped by a martial maid, Joan of Arc, he is gradually stripped of all his foreign dominions: soon after which he finds an unexpected competitor for his English crown, in one of his own nobleman, Richard duke of York, aided by the earl of Warwick: at length, in July 1460, he is overcome and taken prisoner by them at the battle of Northampton. Six months after this he is restored to his liberty and his power by his Amazonian queen: after having gained two battles, one at Wakefield, the other at St. Alban's; in the former of which, his rival, Richard duke of York is slain. Henry's triumph, however, is of short duration; for Richard's son, Edward, succeeding to his claim in March 1461, gains the important victory of Towton, which transfers the actual possession of the crown from the former to the latter; who, after a disgraceful exile in Scotland, and some ineffectual attempts at Hexham and elsewhere in England, is a second time taken prisoner at Cletherwood, near Bungerley Hippingstones, in 1463, and committed close prisoner to the Tower. In 1470, Edward is conquered, in his turn, at Banbury field, by Henry's friends, and soon after taken prisoner; but effecting his escape, recovers his former power. Being however again worsted, and obliged to fly, our pious Henry is restored to his liberty, and to the undisputed possession of the English throne. But this turn of affairs lasted only six months: for the 14th of April, 1471, his party is completely routed in the fatal field of Barnet, and he is once more committed to the tower, where the next month he is murdered by the duke of Gloucester.

(1) Polydore Virg. l. xxiv.

he behaved with his usual affability and kindness, in the progress which he soon after made hither, on his way from Southampton to the marches of Wales. (1) With respect to their venerable bishop, he seems to have paid a particular attention to him; visiting his new founded college; (2) and, besides the common acts of grace, granted to the clergy, issuing a special pardon in his favour. (3) Still, however, though Edward was the favourite in London, it is probable that Henry continued to be the darling, both of the prelate and people of Winchester; and that they gave such proof of their attachment as was in their power, during the half year that Henry wore the crown, towards the conclusion of 1470, and in the beginning of 1471, is also probable; as another special pardon was found necessary, for the security of Waynflete, in the latter of these years. (4) It seems also that Henry's queen, Margaret, who landed at Weymouth from the Continent on the very day of the battle of Barnet, was marching this way to recruit her army, when she heard of the fatal issue of that engagement; which caused her to fly, for sanctuary, to the celebrated abbey of Beaulieu, in the neighbouring forest. (5) Whatever jealousy Edward might entertain of the dispositions of this city in his regard, it is a proof that he considered it as a place of considerable importance and dignity, by his conferring, soon after his restoration, the earldom of it, which title had long been extinct, upon one of his greatest favourites; to whom, at the same time, he granted the extraordinary privilege of quartering the royal arms of England with his own. This was Lewis de Bruges, baron Gruthuyse, a Flemish nobleman, who had saved the king's person from pirates, and hospitably received him in his late flight and distress. (6) To prevent giving umbrage to his subjects, by conferring such high marks of honour upon a foreigner, he contrived that the parliament should present him a petition to this effect. (7)

(1) Stow. (2) R. G. Vet. Mon. vol. II. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.
(5) Polydore Virg. (6) Stow. Rapin.
(7) Iidem.—The Anonymous Historian of Winchester, p. 93, speaking of this transaction, tells us, that Lewis de Bruges was made earl of Winchester, as a *reward of his signal intrepidity and courage in the field of battle;* that he was so promoted *in a fresh list of nobility;*

Edward IV. died in 1483, and it was easy to foresee that the young king, Edward V. and his brother, the Duke of York, would not long remain alive, to obstruct the ambition of their remorseless uncle, Richard, whose hands were already stained with the blood of so many royal personages. (1) Having procured their murder, he soon experienced the delusive nature of those charms, which his imagination had affixed to the possession of a crown; his short reign being one scene of alarms, commotions, and bloodshed, to which at length he fell a victim. His first progress was into the western counties, in which the disaffected lords had raised their standard against him. (2) On this occasion, he appears to have been at Winchester, in his way to Salisbury; where his former associate, but now declared foe, the duke of Buckingham, falling into his hands, was beheaded. (3) Soon after this, the expected deliverer of his country, the duke of Richmond, made his first appearance on the neighbouring coast, (4) which he knew to be full of his partisans. He found it, however, fortified and lined with troops, which the tyrant had collected to oppose him. (5) This circumstance renders it probable, that our city, being the chief rallying point along a great extent of coast, was at this juncture put into a posture of defence. The duke's second expedition was directed against a coast equally friendly to him, and not so well guarded, that of South Wales. He accordingly landed at Milford Haven, without opposition, and, with still increasing forces, marched into the heart of the kingdom; where, upon Bosworth field, he put a final period to the crimes of Richard, and to the lengthened glories of the House of Plantagenet.

During the whole melancholy season of civil war and mutual slaughter, the see of Winchester was governed by the same prudent and exemplary prelate. This was William Waynflete, so called from the place of his birth,

this happened *in* 1439; that *Henry's forces were then totally overthrown*, and *Edward himself then re-crowned.* It is needless to prove that every one of these five particulars is absolutely fictitious.

(1) Henry VI. prince Edward his son, and his own brother the duke of Clarence.

(2) Polydore Virg. Stow. (3) Iidem.

(4) In the neighbourhood of Poole. Polydore Virg. (5) Ibid. Stow.

but whose true name was Patten. (1) He was first educated in the college of this city, whence he removed to Wykeham's college at Oxford, to finish his studies. He afterwards became head master of the college here; (2) which station he filled with so much credit to himself, during the space of twelve years, that Henry VI. coming hither in 1440, as has been said above, to take a model for his new foundation of Eton; could not be satisfied until he had procured the consent of Waynflete to remove thither, with a select number of his scholars, (3) in order to give a beginning to it. Remaining there three years in the quality of master, and four years in that of provost; (4) he was in 1447, upon the death of cardinal Beaufort, recommended by the king, on account of his piety, learning, and prudence, (5) and chosen by the monks, to the mitre of this diocese. His royal patron honoured with his presence the ceremony of his enthronement. Being now in the possession of ample revenues, he did not wait until the conclusion of his life to make the best use of what he could spare out of them; but, the very year after his consecration, made a beginning of that seminary of learning, which has hardly had its equal for magnificence (6) in Europe, Magdalen College, Oxford. Having entered thus early upon this great work, he had the satisfaction, notwithstanding the turbulency of the times, to see it completed. He was also the founder of a well built free school, in his native town, (7) and was a benefactor to Eton college, (8) to his cathedral, (9) and to other places; not only by his wealth, but also by his talents in architecture, which appear to have been considerable. Though his turn of mind rather led him to the pursuits of literature and piety, than to those of public life, yet he transacted several important affairs of state, and was, during the space of three years, chan-

(1) Godwin. (2) Idem. Chaundler. Harpsfield.
(3) Viz. 35 scholars and five fellows.
(4) Archiv. Colleg. Eton. Not. ap. Godwin. (5) Godwin. (6) Ibid.
(7) Leland, Itinerary. See a plate and an account of it in Vetust. Monum. vol. III. plate VI.
(8) Ibid. vol. II. p. 49. (9) See our Survey.

cellor of the kingdom. (1) Loyalty, gratitude, piety, and every commendable motive, contributed to make him a partisan of his much injured friend and patron, Henry VI. He accordingly took such measures in his behalf, both before Edward came to the crown, and afterwards, when he was obliged to abdicate it, during the space of half a year; that on each occasion Waynflete stood in need of a special pardon, as we have said before, from the successful usurper. There is no doubt, however, that he complied with the wishes of the pacific and unambitious Henry, in submitting to the circumstances of the times, and yielding obedience to the king *de facto*, when the cause of the king *de jure* was crushed and became hopeless. He lived to witness the joy of the nation, and the hopes of Winchester, in consequence of the victory of Bosworth; dying at his palace of Waltham, near this city, in 1486; (2) whence his body was conveyed to the cathedral, and buried in the sumptuous chantry, which is still seen there. (3)

(1) Hen. Whart. Ang. Sac. (2) Godwin. (3) See our Survey.

CHAP XII.

Accession of Henry VII.—He brings his Queen to lie-in at Winchester. —The Cornish Insurgents march through this City.—Succession of Bishops Langton, Courtney, and Fox.—Character and Transactions of the last mentioned.—Beginning of the Reign of Henry VIII.— His Visit to Winchester with the Emperor Charles V.—Cardinal Wolsey succeeds to this See.—His Conduct in the Affair of the Divorce. —This brings on the regal Supremacy and the Suppression of Monasteries, which entirely changes the face of Winchester.—The City still more defaced by the Protector Somerset, under Edward VI.— Conduct of Bishop Gardiner.—Dr. Poynet appointed to succeed him.— Profanation of sacred Things, and Dismembering of the Bishopric. Accession of Queen Mary.—Solemnity of her Marriage at Winchester.—Restores it, in part, to its ancient Splendor.—The Persecution carried on in her Reign.—An Account of the Protestant Sufferers belonging to this City.—Death and Funeral of Bishop Gardiner.— He is succeeded by Dr. White.—Queen Elizabeth mounts the Throne, and reassumes Ecclesiastical Supremacy.—Effects of this Measure in the Cathedral and College of Winchester.—Dr. Horne appointed to this Diocese.—The latter again dismembered.—The City is defaced, and falls into great Ruin and Poverty.—A new Charter is granted.— Substance of the same.—The College receives a Mark of public Distinction.—Succession of Bishops, Dr. Horne, Dr. Watson, Dr. Cooper, Dr. William Wickham, Dr. Day, and Dr. Bilson.—Persecution carried on by Elizabeth against the Catholics.—An Account of the Sufferers belonging to this City.

IN proportion to the weakness of Henry Tudor's direct hereditary claim to the crown of England, being descended from a remote and illegitimate branch of the Lancastrian family, (1) he was industrious in fencing it round with every other kind of title, that it was possible to set up. The best and the most popular of these was his marriage with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late Edward IV. which transferred into his family the right of the house of York; though he himself, who held the princes of that line to have been so many usurpers, did not appear to attach any great value to it. (2) The other titles, on which he grounded his claim, were, 1st, the right of conquest; (3) 2dly, an act of parliament, (4) not to mention a papal bull, which he also procured in favour of his pretensions; (5) and finally, his supposed descent from Cadwallader, the last king of the Britons, who died in the seventh century. (6) This latter title, so congenial with the feelings of a Welchman, who considered the whole English nation as intruders and usurpers, was a favourite one with Henry. To give a better colour to this, a story was now invented, and industriously spread abroad, concerning a pretended revelation made to Cadwallader, purporting that his posterity should regain the sovereignty of Britain. (7) With the same view, instead of naming his eldest son Henry, which was his own name, and that of all preceding sovereigns of the House of Lancaster; the king caused him to be christened Arthur, in honour of the

(1) Catherine Swyneford was not married to John of Gaunt at the time of the birth of Henry's ancestor, John Beaufort, earl of Somerset. The subsequent marriage of the parties, legitimated him and the other children in the same case according to the canon law, but not according to the law of the land. It was on occasion of the bishop's proposing, in the reign of Henry of Winchester, to render the latter conformable to the former, in this point; that the barons made that memorable resolve: *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*

(2) Rapin. (3) Rym. Fœdera. (4) Ibid. (5) Rapin.

(6) Harpsfield. Polydore Virg.

(7) "Memoriæ proditum ferunt vocem divinitus Cadevalladro, ultimo Britonnarum regi, redditam, ejus progeniem rursus regnaturam." Polyd. Virg. l. xxvi.—N.B. No hint of such a prophecy occurs in Geoffry of Monmouth, Mathew of Westminster, or any of the other ancient writers, in treating of Cadwallader.

most renowned amongst the British princes: and as, by an error, which has already been accounted for, (1) this city was supposed to have been particularly ennobled by the residence and feats of that hero; hence, when his queen was near the time of her lying-in, he hastened to conduct her hither, (2) in order that the hoped-for prince might be born in the very castle supposed to have been first built by Arthur, and to be still illustrated by the monuments of his power and magnificence. (3) The nation at large, however, were much less interested in the restoration of the *rouge dragons* honours, (4) than in the union of the red and the white rose, in the person of this royal infant; which promised to staunch those torrents of blood that had so long flowed in the wars between the adverse parties. No words can heighten the importance which they attached to this joyful event; (5) and the eyes of all England were directed towards Winchester, which was the scene of it. In return for the demonstrations of joy, which this city exhibited on the occasion, it is natural to suppose, from former precedents, that the king renewed its charters; though no actual proof or trace of such a transaction is now known to exist. (6) There is evidence, however, of his confirming one ancient privilege of Winchester, that of keeping the standard measures and weights for the whole kingdom; by his presenting it with a new set of them of superior workmanship and materials to the old ones, which are still preserved here in the Guildhall. (7)

(1) P. 77.

(2) " Eboracensis provinciæ statu collocato Londinum revertitur, ac paucis post diebus Vintoniam petit, ubi loci Elizabeth regina puerum peperit, quem Arthurum appellavit, atque Londinum aliquanto post regreditur." Polyd. Virg. l. xxvi.

(3) These pretended feats of Arthur at Winchester, and the round table, in particular, are celebrated by John Harding, a favourite poet of Edward IV.

(4) The famous British standard, see p. 63, also one of the supporters of the Tudor's arms.

(5) See the account of a contemporary writer, Bernardus Andreas, in Speed's Succession of Eng. Mon. p. 958.

(6) The Anonymous Historian asserts, as a positive fact, that the city charter was renewed at this time. Vol. II. p. 94. But it is a familiar practice with him to assert facts without authorities.

(7) Specimens of these, viz. the bushel, gallon, and yard, are engraved in our Miscellaneous Plate, Nos. 7, 8, 22.

The attempts of certain Yorkists, in favour of the impostors, Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, were more vexatious than dangerous to the government, and do not appear to have ever reached this city. The only time in this reign, that it was disturbed by any alarm of war, was in 1497; when the miners of Cornwall, being provoked at the heavy taxes which were then imposed upon the nation, and the rigours exercised in collecting them, (1) took up arms, and marched through this city, under the command of Touchet, lord Audley, (2) in their route from Wells and Salisbury into Kent; where they expected to find the inhabitants equally disaffected and resolute with themselves. It does not appear, however, that the least violence was committed by this army, either at Winchester, (3) or at any other place in their march, except at Taunton; where meeting with the provost of Perin, who was the commissioner for collecting the taxes in those parts, they put him to death. Notwithstanding this exemption from external calamities, our city continued still to decline in its trade and population; so that it became necessary, about this time, to repeat the measure, which Bishop Wykeham had first practised, that of uniting different parishes together. One cause of this decline was, that woollen caps began to be out of fashion about this time,

(1) Polydore Virg. (2) Erroneously called by Warton and Wavel, Lord Dudley.

(3) It is certain, from the silence of some historians, and the positive assurance of others, that the insurgents committed no violence, except that at Taunton. See Polydore, Stow, Speed, &c. In conformity with these, Rapin says, "Audley putting himself at their head, led them directly to Salisbury, and from thence to Winchester, without suffering them to commit any violence, and obliging them to be satisfied with a bare subsistence. Vol. I. p. 679.—If we give credit to these historians, what can we say of the following extract, unaccompanied with any authority or reference whatever, from the Rev. T. Warton's Description of this City, &c. p. 21, 22, which, as usual, is copied by the Anonymous Historian, with additional errors, Hist. of Winch. vol. II. p. 94, 95? "In the year 1497, the city of Winchester was attacked by the rebels, under the command of Lord Dudley, (for Audley,) who entering the city by storm, plundered the inhabitants, and committed many other acts of violence. The mayor and his brethren, and many of the citizens, sheltered themselves in the castle, which was also attacked with great fury by the rebels; who finding its fortifications too strong to admit of being taken, endeavoured to capitulate with the garrison, which being refused, he retired."

which had formed a principal article of its manufacture. (1) Other causes were, that strange disorder peculiar to the English constitution, the sweating sickness, (2) and the plague; with both of which it was successively visited. The latter, in the last year of the fifteenth century, (3) carried off the bishop of this see, at a very critical period to him, as we shall presently observe.

Bishop Waynflete died in 1486, living just long enough to behold the restoration of the House of Lancaster, in the person of Henry VII. His death gave the king an opportunity of promoting to this superior see, by means of the pope's provision, (4) which he easily obtained, a prelate, who, both on his own account, and that of his family, merited his utmost regard. This was Peter Courtney, of the illustrious family of that name in Devonshire; who, being bishop of Exeter, had during the late tyranny, emigrated with his brother Sir Edward Courtney, into France, and enlisted in the cause which was now triumphant. He had left ample monuments of his munificence to his late cathedral; to which he presented one of the largest bells in Europe, at the same time enlarging the north tower, and rendering it fit to receive this noble gift. (5) It does not appear, however, that he was otherwise liberal to the cathedral of this city, except in concurring with the prior and monks in carrying on the interior decorations, which seem never to have been suspended from the death of Wykeham, until a later period than that in question. Bishop Courtney died the 2d of September, 1492, (6) and was buried in the cathedral; but the exact situation of his grave is almost the only one belonging to any of our prelates since the conquest, which is left to conjecture, and cannot be absolutely ascertained. (7)

Bishop Langton, who next wore the mitre of this see, was a native of Westmorland, and received his first education in a convent of Carmelite

(1) Trussel's MSS. (2) Polydore Virg. ad ann. 1486. (3) Viz. 1500.

(4) Ang. Sac. Contin. Wint.

(5) Godwin, De Præsul. See also an Account of Exeter Cathedral, lately published by the Society of Antiquaries, accompanying Mr. Carter's beautiful plates of that cathedral.

(6) Godwin. Ang. Sac.

(7) See our Survey.

friars, in the town of Appleby. (1) Thence he removed, first to Oxford, and next to Cambridge, where he took academical degrees. He afterwards became provost of Queen's College, Oxford, and master of St. Julian's Hospital, in Southampton. (2) His first step in the episcopacy was the see of St. David's, to which he was consecrated in 1483. In the following year, he was translated to Salisbury, and from thence to the see of Winchester in 1499. He is called, by his learned biographer, (3) a second Mecænas, on account of the protection which he afforded to literature and learned men. Not content with encouraging the two colleges, which were opposite to the gates of his palace in this city; he had a number of youths, whom he caused to be educated in the palace itself, particularly in grammar and music; whose exercises he was accustomed to attend daily in person, in order to encourage and reward those who made the greatest proficiency in them. (4) He himself was renowned for his learning, piety, and prudence, in the management of business. Hence, upon the death of Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, he was deemed the properest person to succeed him, and was actually elected to that dignity; (5) when, a few days afterwards, in the same year, 1500, he was carried off by the plague, (6) which proved fatal to two other distinguished prelates, Rotheram, archbishop of York, and Alcock, of Ely. He was buried in the chapel he had prepared for this purpose, at the eastern end of our cathedral, which was once no less curious for its elegant workmanship, than it is still for its quaint devices. (7)

The circumstance of the two sees of Canterbury and Winchester being both vacant, gave to the cathedral monks of the former a claim to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over those of the latter; which they accordingly exercised, (8) by deputing some of their number to visit the monastery here, and to enquire into the number of its members, and the state of its re-

(1) Athenæ Oxon. Ant. Wood. (2) Ibid. (3) Ant. Wood. (4) Ibid.
(5) Richardson, Not. ap. Godwin. (6) Godwin.
(7) Amongst these is still seen a musical note, called a *long*, proceeding from a *tun*, being a rebus on the name Langton. Ant. Wood.
(8) Regist. Cant. ap. Hen. Whart. in success. Prior. Wint.

venues and discipline. It is probable, that the expensive works, which prior Silkstead was then meditating, or actually carrying on, in his church and monastery, had led to an opinion that the monks here were in danger of exceeding their income. On this occasion, the number of the priory monks was found to be thirty-five, and their annual revenue to amount to 1000*l.* (1) In short, we are left to conclude that no abuse nor misconduct was then discovered, as no new order or regulation then took place; and as prior Silkstead was left at liberty, in conjunction with the illustrious prelate, who soon after took possession of this see, to pursue their noble and magnificent plans for the repairs and decoration of the cathedral and monastery.

The prelate alluded to was Richard Fox, the chief of all the king's confidential friends and counsellors. He had studied both at Oxford and Cambridge, (2) but happened to be at Paris, at the time when Henry, then duke of Richmond, went thither to solicit the aid of the French king, in his intended expedition against Richard III. On this and on many other occasions, he rendered his prince the most essential services, (3) and acquired the highest character with him for talents and fidelity. Soon after the victory of Bosworth field, he was, upon the translation of Peter Courtney to this see, made bishop of Exeter; which he held six years, in addition to his civil employments of keeper of the privy seal and secretary of state. He was then transferred to the united sees of Bath and Wells, which he governed two years; when he was promoted to the bishopric of Durham, where he had opportunities of displaying his munificence and architectural talents, (4) during the six years that he occupied that station. At length, the king finding that his frequent absence, at so great a distance from the court, whilst he attended to the affairs of his diocese, was prejudicial to his service; (5) and wishing to have his advice on all affairs of consequence, procured to have him removed in the same year that Langton died, to the see of Winchester. (6) No higher proof of the

(1) Regist. Cant. ap. Hen. Wharton. (2) Godwin.
(3) Harpsfield. (4) Athen. Oxon. (5) Harpsfield. (6) Richardson.

consideration in which the king held him can be adduced, than that he was chosen to be sponsor to the young prince, who was afterwards Henry VIII. (1) Our prelate continued for some time to be one of the chief counsellors of the son, as he had been of the father. At length, either mortified at finding himself supplanted by Wolsey, whom he had introduced to the king's service; or else being desirous of consecrating the latter end of his life to the concerns of religion and the sanctification of his soul; (2) he retired to his cathedral city, and applied himself exclusively to these objects. He was now indefatigable in preaching the word of God to his people, and in exciting his clergy to the performance of the same duty. (3) He was also unbounded in his charities to the poor, whom he assisted with food, clothes, and money; at the same time exercising hospitality, and promoting the trade of the city, by a large establishment which he kept up at Wolvesey, of 220 servants, being all men. (4) The public works which he is known to have left behind him, suffice to prove the greatness both of his genius and his beneficence. The most celebrated of these is Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which he built and founded; endowing it not with ecclesiastical property, as had frequently been done in similar instances, but with estates which he purchased for this express purpose. (5) His first intention, in making this establishment, was, that it should serve as a nursery for the monks of his cathedral church; but he was afterwards dissuaded from pursuing this intention, by Oldham, bishop of Exeter, who foretold the approaching ruin of the monasteries; and he accordingly founded it for secular clergymen. (6) Having finished this seminary, he industriously drew to it some of the most celebrated scholars

(1) In the account of this prelate, Vetust. Monum. on plate I., vol. II, this fact is denied, and it is asserted that Fox was only the baptising prelate. The authority, however, there referred to cannot be compared with those of the contemporary historian Harpsfield, Hist. Ecc. Ang. Sæc. xv. c. 20, and of Godwin, De Præsul.—Not to mention that Greenwich, being out of the diocese of Winchester, it would have been irregular in the king to name our prelate to perform the solemn rite, which there took place.

(2) Harpsfield. (3) Idem. (4) Idem. (5) Idem.

(6) Godwin. Dodd. R. G. in Vet. Mon.

of the age, such as Lodovicus Vivez, the divine; Nicholas Crucher, the mathematician; Clement Edwards and Nicholas Utten, professors of the Greek tongue; likewise Thomas Lupset, Richard Pace, and Reginald Pole, who was afterwards cardinal; (1) men of the greatest distinction for learning and talents. Our prelate also founded a grammar school, in the town of Taunton, dependant on this see; and another at Grantham, which was near the place of his birth. (2) He extended his charity and munificence to many other foundations, particularly within his own diocese; (3) amongst others, the enchanting ruins of Netley Abbey still attest that he was a benefactor to that monastery. But the monuments, which chiefly tend to embalm his memory in this city, are those great and beautiful works, both within its cathedral and on the outside of it, which have hardly been equalled in their kind, and never surpassed. On these we shall find another opportunity of enlarging. (4) During the ten last years of bishop Fox's life, it pleased the Almighty to deprive him of sight. (5) Far, however, from sinking under this trial, or relaxing in his zealous efforts, the only use he made of this deprivation was to apply himself more assiduously to prayer and meditation, which at length became almost uninterrupted, both day and night. (6) In 1528 he finished his pious course, and was buried in that exquisite chantry, which, amongst his other works, he had prepared for that purpose, immediately behind the high altar, on the south side. (7)

Henry VII. departed this life, after a reign of nearly 24 years, with a high reputation for wisdom and equity; (8) except as to certain extortions, of which Empson and Dudley bore the blame and the punishment. To the

(1) Harpsfield. (2) Godwin. (3) Idem. Dodd.
(4) In our Survey. (5) Godwin. (6) Harpsfield.

(7) The last quoted author, who enlarges, with so much unction, on the merits of Bishop Fox, testifies that he was present at his funeral, being then a student in Winchester College.

(8) The object of one of his wise and equitable laws, was to provide counsel gratis for all persons having any trial or suit, who were too poor to procure it otherwise. Concerning this matter, Harpsfield writes as follows:—"Fuit & illud sanctissime constitutum, quod utinam hodie accuratius observaretur, ut tenuiores & inopes haberent, qui gratis eorum causas in foro disceptarent, neque quidquam, litium causâ, quovis modo ab eis abradaretur." Sæc. XV, c. VII.

prince who next mounted the throne, it was natural for the body of the clergy, and in a certain degree for this city also, to look up as to a special patron. Henry VIII had received a theological education, and St. Thomas Aquinas was, at all times, his favourite author. It was even understood that he was to have been a churchman, had not his brother Arthur's premature fate opened to him the road to the throne. (1) On the other hand, this city, which was now chiefly distinguished by the number and splendor of its ecclesiastical establishments, had for its bishop the chief counsellor of the state, and the godfather of the king. Accordingly, in the early part of his reign, he gave a very uncommon mark, for a sovereign, of his zeal in the cause of the church, by his writing a book against the new opinions of Martin Luther; (2) which he dedicated to pope Leo X. The latter, in return, addressed a bull to him, replete with praises, and conferring upon him the title of *Defender of the Faith;* of which Henry was not a little vain, and which he and his successors, the sovereigns of England, have ever since borne. (3) We shall soon see how these expectations were disappointed; but, in the mean time, it is proper to notice other transactions.

It seems that Henry had early visited this city, in his western progress; but in 1522, the year after he acquired the above-mentioned title, the emperor Charles V. coming to England, to confer with him; the two sovereigns directed their course this way, (4) and spent a week together, (5) viewing the antiquities of this renowned city. Their notice here was particularly attracted by the famous round table, then kept in the castle, and now in the county-hall; which was firmly believed to be the identical table, which the British king Arthur had erected there just a thousand years before that period, for celebrating feasts of chivalry. (6) The table

(1) Dodd's Ch. Hist. of Eng. part I. art. VI. Collier's Ecc. Hist. part. II. b. I.

(2) The Assertion of the seven Sacraments against Luther. See the work itself, which was republished about the middle of the late century.

(3) Polydore Virg. Collier, &c.

(4) Stow's Annals.

(5) From June 22 to July 1.

(6) Trussel's MSS.

was new painted on the occasion, (1) and a distich, in honour of the illustrious visitors, was placed beneath it, which was legible for a long time afterwards. (2) The following year the king was again in this city, and made a visit to the college. (3)

Upon the death of bishop Fox, it was easy to foresee that this bishopric would fall into no other hands than those of the great and mighty cardinal, who then engrossed all the royal favour, and a great part of the royal benefits, and the richest church livings. Wolsey was accordingly put into possession of the temporalities of this see, in October 1528; though he did not receive his bulls, and was not installed, (4) until the beginning of the following year. However, as to possess this rich bishopric, in commendam, it was necessary to resign the care of the church of Durham; the revenues of the latter were bestowed on a different kind of favourite, the lady Ann Boleyn, (5) maid of honour to the reigning queen. (6) At this period the king, after having lived twenty years with his queen, Catherine of Arragon, and having had several children by her, affected to entertain scruples concerning the validity of his marriage. (7) He accordingly left nothing untried, to induce Clement VII. who was then pope, to pronounce a sentence of divorce between them. The pontiff so far complied with his wishes, as to appoint ecclesiastical commissioners to take cognizance of this cause, and to pronounce upon it. These were, cardinal Wolsey, now

(1) Trussel's MSS. The characters, in the names of the 24 knights, and the costume in the dress of the king, were those of the reign of Henry VIII. and have since, at each fresh painting, been copied, though incorrectly.

(2) The distich was as follows:

Carolus, Henricus vivant; Defensor uterque;
Henricus Fidei, Carolus Ecclesiæ.

(3) Regist. Colleg. (4) Ang. Sac. Collier.

(5) Stow.

(6) Heylin's Hist. Qu. Eliz. Polydore Virg.

(7) At the commencement of these pretended scruples, viz. in the year 1528, it is evident, by two letters from Ann Boleyn to the cardinal, in one of which Henry also writes, that the intrigue between her and the king was already formed. These letters are published by Collier, p. 33, from Burnet.

bishop of our see, and cardinal Campegius, who was bishop of Salisbury. But Henry's passion proceeding faster in this business, than the commissioners found themselves at liberty to act; the queen also appealing to Rome, and the pope revoking the cause to his own immediate tribunal; (1) the king became furious, and was bent on revenge. His first victim was his great favourite, the new bishop of this see; (2) who was stripped of his offices and property, and what he most regretted, even of those treasures which he had set apart for the foundation of his two colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. (3) At first he was only banished to Esher, one of the episcopal houses belonging to Winchester; but was afterwards ordered to withdraw into the north, to the diocese of York, which he held together with that of Winchester. Towards the conclusion of the same year, 1530, being sent for again up to London, but in quality of a prisoner; he was probably saved from the last infamy and punishment, by a natural death, which overtook him on his journey. He died, lamenting, with too much reason, that he had served his prince more faithfully than he had served his God. (4) Whatever the crimes were that had been selected for Wolsey's impeachment, had he reached London, nothing can exceed the injustice and tyranny implied in the charge, on which he had hitherto suffered. This was no other than his acceptance of the office of pope's legate, contrary to an ambiguous act of parliament, which had never been enforced, nor ever interpreted in the sense now affixed to it. (5) At the very time that the king thus unrelentingly persecuted his late minister for accepting a commission from the pope; it was well known that the latter was possessed of an instrument, in due form, containing his royal licence for so doing: (5) and it was notorious to all Europe, that Henry himself had recently solicited and

(1) Heylin's Hist. Collier. (2) Godwin, De Præsul. (3) Stow.

(4) Ibid.—Godwin remarks on the glory and happiness of Henry's reign, whilst Wolsey was his minister, and the unhappiness of it, after he was discarded.

(5) 16 Ric. II.—Collier, Ecc. Hist. vol. II, p. 62, brings good arguments to prove that the act had no such import as that which was now ascribed to it.

(6) Stow, Collier, &c.

procured an extension of that commission, in favour of the divorce; and that, in what he now did, he was actuated by pure resentment, because that power was not exercised to the extent of his inclinations. We have already intimated that Wolsey was a much better statesman than a prelate. This city does not appear to have been benefited by him, or even honoured by his presence. He took possession of the cathedral by proxy; (1) and the only use which he is known to have made of his power, was to dissolve certain monasteries and churches in this bishopric, (2) in order to confer their possessions on the magnificent colleges which he was building.

Not content with the cruelty and injustice which he had exercised upon the cardinal himself, Henry caused the whole body of the clergy to be brought in guilty of a *premunire*, or loss of all their property, for having acknowledged Wolsey in quality of pope's legate: though he himself had continued to do so; and though, as they made it appear, their acting otherwise would have been attended with their certain ruin. (3) The truth is, the king was now goaded on both by resentment and avarice, and was backed by a parliament, so obsequious to all his inclinations, that at this very time they passed an act to discharge him from the obligation of repaying the several sums of money which had been lent to him by his subjects. (4) Having held out this statute as a terror to the clergy, he affected a great degree of moderation, in admitting them to a composition; the weight of which, however, was so oppressive, that it could only be exceeded by the enforcement of the statute itself. (5) Another condition annexed to this favour, implied a total change of the established religion of the country, by rejecting the spiritual supremacy of the pope, and acknowledging Henry to be the sole and supreme head of the church in this

(1) Ang. Sac. Contin. Win.

(2) One of the dissolved chapels was that upon St. Catherine's Hill, near this city. Leland, Itin. (3) Collier, p. 61.

(4) An. 1529-30. Tindal. Guthrie.

(5) Viz. 118,840 pounds sterling, which Collier computed to be worth more than twenty times as much money when he wrote.

country; which prerogative, by a subsequent act of parliament, was interpreted and constituted to be a right of judging and deciding upon all doctrinal matters, (1) and of issuing authority to exercise all ecclesiastical functions whatsoever. (2) Of this new authority the old servant of our late bishop, who was now become earl of Essex, namely, Thomas Cromwell, was appointed vicar-general; being also called vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters. (3) Under these titles, though a mere layman, he frequently sat in the convocation house, amongst the bishops, as their head. (4)

The important and unprecedented measure, which caused so much blood to flow in other parts of the kingdom, (5) did not meet with that resistance in our city, which the name of the prelate who then presided in it, would lead us to expect. This was the famous Dr. Stephen Gardiner, who, at the time when the dispute concerning the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown was at the greatest height, was made bishop of this see, after it had

(1) " To visit, order, and reform all heresies and abuses, which, by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, may lawfully be ordered or reformed." 26 Hen. VII. c. 1. How rigidly this new branch of the royal prerogative was exercised by Henry, will appear from the following extract from his speech in parliament, A.D 1545 :—" If you know surely that a bishop or preacher preacheth or teacheth perverse doctrine, come and declare to some of our council, or to us, to whom is committed by God the high authority to reform and order such causes and behaviors, and be not judges yourselves of your own fantastical opinions and vaine expositions, for in such high cause you may lightly err." Stow's Annals. Idem. Collier, &c.

(2) See the license to preach the word of God, granted by the king to Dr. Rowland Lee, 24th of March, 29 Hen. VIII. Col. p. 143.

(3) Collier, p. 104. Stow.

(4) Sir R. Baker's Chron. Stow.

(5) Amongst those who suffered death in this reign, merely for denying the royal ecclesiastical supremacy, were the great and good sir Thomas More, chancellor of England, and John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, the chief ornament of the bench of bishops. Besides these, there were three abbots, who sat in parliament, those of Glassenbury, Colchester, and Reading; three Carthusian priors, and other clergy, secular and regular, to the number in all of 59 persons. See a list of them in Dodd's Ch. Hist. part I. p. 342.—Whilst these catholics suffered the death of traitors, for maintaining the ancient religion, not a few protestants were burnt for introducing a new one, not entirely according to the king's fancy.

remained vacant almost four years. (1) The fact is, having been first brought into notice by his predecessor Wolsey, he owed his promotion to his readiness in seconding all the views of Henry, of whatever nature they were. He had laboured incessantly, both at Rome and in England, to bring about the king's divorce with queen Catherine; (2) and now that he was become, what was called in derision one of the king's bishops, he was content to take out, as well as his colleague Bonner, the following strange commission, that "the king is the fountain of all jurisdiction and authority, as well ecclesiastical as secular; that those who had exercised this jurisdiction formerly, did it only precariously and upon royal courtesy, and that therefore this authority ought to be returned whenever the king should please to call for it; but that since the lord Cromwell, knight of the garter, vicegerent and vicar-general, to preside, manage, and direct in all ecclesiastical causes, was so far employed in matters concerning the state, that he was not at leisure to discharge the functions of vicegerent, and manage the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, wholly delegated to him by the king, supreme head of the church of England; hence the said king gives him (Stephen Gardiner) a commission to exercise all the branches of the episcopal authority under the king his highness.....to ordain, inflict censures,..... and to execute every thing belonging to the authority and jurisdiction of a bishop." (3)

The non-compliancy of Rome, in pronouncing the divorce of Henry and Catherine, which divorce was necessary to enable him to marry his beloved Ann Boleyn, was the chief cause of the important events above related; (4)

(1) Godwin. (2) Collier.

(3) Collier, pp. 169, 170.—Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, only mentions Bonner, as taking out this commission; but Collier proves that our bishop Gardiner, the two metropolitans, and other bishops of those days, took out the same.

(4) This is expressly acknowledged by the learned Dr. Heylyn, who says, "The king being violently hurried with the transport of some private affections, and finding that the pope appeared the greatest obstacle to his desires, he first divested him of that supremacy, which had been challenged and enjoyed by his predecessors, for some ages past, and finally extinguished his authority in the realm of England." Hist. of Ref. Pref.

so essentially affecting the condition of this city, and of other events still more important, which we shall soon have to relate. But now the king had put the matter in a train, in which it was sure to succeed. By the advice of Cranmer, whom he had lately raised to the see of Canterbury, he had at first assumed to himself the plenitude of ecclesiastical and spiritual power; (1) and as the advanced pregnancy of Ann Boleyn required a speedy termination of this long-protracted business, he accordingly imparted to that prelate a special licence for judging and deciding upon it. (2) The process in Cranmer's court was, of course, much less tedious than it had been in pope Clement's. He gave judgment within a month from the date of the above licence, viz. May 20, 1533. What the purport of this decision was, concerning the legality of Henry's first marriage, the reader need not be informed. To prove, however, still more the inconsistency and immorality of all this business, it is proper to remark, that the king, whilst suing for a divorce from Catherine, had already been married to Ann several months; (3) and that within the space of four months after this sentence, the latter was brought to bed of her daughter Elizabeth, who became the celebrated queen of that name. (4) It appears that, during the three years of this lady's prosperity, she had accompanied her royal husband in one or more of his progresses to this city; as the scene of one of the heaviest charges (5) that was afterwards brought against her, seems to have been laid here. This related to one of the king's musicians, by name Mark Smeton, with whom, amongst other persons, she was accused of having been criminally familiar. In vindication of herself, she owned that he had been once in her chamber (6) when with the king at Winchester, but she alleged that it was only for the purpose of his playing upon a musical instrument then in use, called the virginals.

(1) Godwin. Dodd. (2) See the same. Collier, Collect. Rec. vol. II, n. 24.

(3) Stow dates their marriage Jan. 25 in the same year. Heylyn carries it back to the preceding November. (4) Born Sept. 7, 1533. Heylyn.

(5) This was in consequence of Mark Smeton's confessing the crime imputed to him and the lady. Burnet's Hist.

(6) Burnet.—Rapin says twice.

Whatever degree of guilt, (1) or levity, (2) there had been in her conduct, we meet with the accustomed insensibility and brutality in that of Henry; who could in the space of a few days, surrender from his palace to the scaffold, that darling wife whom he had strained every nerve to gain, and actually celebrate a new marriage before the blood of the unhappy Ann Boleyn had well ceased to flow, namely, the very day after her execution. (3) We also meet with the accustomed obsequiousness of archbishop Cranmer (4) to the passions of the tyrant, in divorcing him from his second wife, with less ceremony even than he had used in divorcing him from his first.

Whilst the bloody scene was passing in the metropolis, Henry appears to have made an excursion to this city; as it was at the adjoining manor of Marwell, belonging to this bishopric, that his marriage with the Lady Jane Seymour took place. (5) This transaction was kept secret until the ensuing festival of Whitsuntide, when the king introduced lady Jane at court as his queen. (6)

These circumstances have been related more in detail, because the affair of the divorce brought on that of the supremacy, and the business of the

(1) Polydore Virg.

(2) Several improper speeches and familiarities with Norris, Smeton, &c. are brought forward by Heylyn and Burnet, but nothing except the confession of Smeton, looks like a proof of actual crime.

(3) May 20, 1536.

(4) The excuse set up for the archbishop by Rapin, vol. 1, p. 812, is, that he was *forced* to pronounce the sentence of divorce between the king and queen, and of the illegitimacy of their daughter Elizabeth. This is also the only defence that can be set up for his divorcing the king from a third wife, Ann of Cleves, without the shadow of a real reason, except that she was disagreeable to her royal husband; and for many other the most important transactions of his episcopacy. Nothing could equal the injustice of the whole proceedings against Ann Boleyn. She was condemned and put to death May 19, by Henry's temporal authority, for the alleged crime of adultery; and by his spiritual authority, of which Cranmer was the instrument, May 17, she had been declared never to have been married to him!

(5) The chamber is still shewn at Marwell, where this marriage was performed.

(6) Heylyn.

supremacy, the suppression of the religious houses; which measure produced the greatest change in the condition and external appearance of this city, that it has experienced since the civil war between the empress Maud and king Stephen. No one at the present day doubts that avarice and irreligion were the real springs of these suppressions. (1) Nevertheless, to give a colour to these proceedings, a visitation of all the convents which were marked out for destruction, was set on foot, (2) by the king's active vicegerent, Thomas Cromwell; under pretence of reforming, by his ecclesiastical authority, the abuses which had crept into them. But the commissioners who were selected for this business, (3) having received their instructions, made use of such arts and violence, (4) as did not fail of answering the intention of their employers; by furnishing a pretext, grounded on the feigned motive of religion, for an act of parliament, by which all monasteries were to be dissolved, whose yearly revenues did not amount to the sum of 200 *l.* (5) The effect produced in our city by this

(1) "The suppression of the monasteries was thought the easiest way of furnishing the exchequer." Collier, p. 109, 149. (2) Ibid. 103.

(3) Ibid, p. 104, &c. See the characters and behaviour of Dr. London, Layton, Leigh, Petre, and the other visitors, in Dugdale's Warwickshire, in the preface to the English Monasticon, Wood, Collier, &c. Also the first mentioned, in Lowth's Life of W. W. p. 315.

(4) Notwithstanding all the base arts, which, as Burnet himself allows, the visitors employed to fill their *black book* with the crimes of religious persons; yet the character of many of these suppressed convents was so high for morality, piety, and charity, as to baffle all their malice. See Dugdale, ut supra.

(5) The preamble to the act of parliament, 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28, (which parliament, in the preface to the Monasticon, is said to have been packed for the purpose of dissolving the lesser convents) sets forth, "that manifest sin is daily committed in the lesser monasteries, &c. that all attempts to reform them have proved vain, and that unless such houses be utterly suppressed, and the religious be committed to the great and honourable monasteries, where they may be compelled to live religiously, there can be no redress in that behalf. Considering also that *divers and great solemn monasteries in this realm, wherein, thanks be to God, religion is well kept and observed*, be destitute of such full number of religious persons as they might and may keep, &c. wherefore it is resolved, that it is and shall be more to the pleasure of Almighty, and for the honour of the realm, that his majesty shall have and enjoy all and singular such monasteries." Collier, part II, p. 113, 114.

act, which was immediately carried into execution, was the dissolution of five flourishing and useful communities; whose property was seized upon for the king's use, and whose members were turned adrift upon the world, some of them only with the clothes they had on; and others, in addition to their clothes, with 40 shillings. (1) These were, 1st, the Sustern Spital, or convent of hospital nuns, near King's-gate, (2) who were chiefly supported by the benefactions of the cathedral priory, and whose employment it was to receive the indigent into their hospital, and also attend upon sick persons in their own houses; 2dly, the Carmelites, in King's-gate-street; 3dly, the Austin Friars, near South-gate; 4thly, the Dominicians, at East-gate; and 5thly, the Franciscans, whose convent was situated upon the Middle Brook. (3) The Benedictine abbey of St. Mary, though of royal foundation, and holding of the king in entire barony, (4) was included in the above-mentioned sentence, their revenues falling short of the sum required for their continuance: (5) but their abbess, lady Elizabeth Shelley, who appears to have been a woman of talents and industry, having provided powerful friends at court, viz. the king's brother-in-law, Sir Edward Seymour, lord Beauchamp, and lady Ann his wife, by resigning to them the valuable manors of Archfount and Allcanning; she was so fortunate as to obtain a respite of her convent's fate. In this case, however, it was necessary that a charter should be issued from the crown, in favour of this abbey, new founding it; which was accordingly done, and all its estates and other property were surrendered back to it, except the manors of Archfount and Allcanning. (6)

Notwithstanding the formal attestation of the legislature to the religious and moral character of the great and solemn monasteries of the realm, so lately given; yet no sooner was Henry in possession of the smaller con-

(1) Stow. Collier. (2) See our Survey and Chart.

(3) The site of these four houses the college obtained, either by favour or purchase.

(4) Dugdale. Collier.

(5) It amounted only to 179*l.* per annum.

(6) See the charter at length in the Appendix to Eng. Monast. vol. III, n. 175, A.D. 1536.

vents, (1) than he set on foot a second visitation; (2) the obvious intention of which was to get possession of the greater monasteries. The scenes of falsehood, injustice, and oppression, which were exercised on this occasion, exceeded what had been practised on the former. (3) This will readily be conceived, when we reflect on the strange expedient that was now resorted to. Cromwell and his agents undertook that all the abbeys, and other great monasteries of the kingdom, should at once make a voluntary surrender of their lands and possessions into the king's hands. In fact, they obtained signatures to this purpose, in almost all the houses of the above-mentioned description; but nothing more clearly proves the unworthy arts and the actual violence, which they must have had recourse to in so doing, than their general success in this particular; (4) nor can any thing shew more the abject state of servility to which the parliament of England was then brought, than that an act should have been passed by it, with such a self-evident falshood on its forehead, as that which now took place, in order to confirm the tyrant's extortions, setting forth, that "sundry abbots, priors, abbesses, prioresses, &c. had, of their own free will and voluntary minds, good-will, and assent, without restraint or compulsion of any person or persons, given to the king, their manors, lands, &c." (5) The consequences of these sacrilegious measures were severely felt in our city: for first fell the venerable priory of St. Swithun, which, with some interruptions, from

(1) To the number of 376, whose yearly revenue amounted at that time to above 32,000*l.* besides the sale of the moveables. (2) In 1537.

(3) Some were persuaded on the score of conscience to give up their property to the king; others were induced by the promises of large pensions; others were intimidated by the threats of being charged with the worst of crimes; some were sent to prison, and died of the rigours they there experienced. It was a common practice to take away the seals of the abbeys, and thus prevent the transacting of business. When a superior was not found compliant, he was displaced on various pretexts, and some disorderly monk or other person, who had been previously gained over by the visitors, was put into office, for the mere purpose of making the surrender required. See Collier, from p. 154 to p. 166. Dugdale's Hist. of Warwickshire. Preface to English Monasticon.

(4) Ibid, p. 159. (5) 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

Pagan invasions or persecutions, may be considered as perhaps the most ancient conventual establishment then existing in Christianity. With its lands and conventual offices, were at the same time swept away a great part of its sacred treasury, and other precious moveables. (1) It is too manifest that the prior, William Kingsmill, who then governed it, was not difficult to be induced by the visitors to overlook the solemn vows which he had taken, both as to fidelity to his trust, and stability in his profession, from his being continued superior of the new establishment, which was now formed, in quality of dean over twelve prebendaries and six minor canons, upon a small proportion of the former conventual possessions. There is reason, however, to think that the greater part of the monks continued firm in their religious engagements, as few of them seem to have been admitted upon the new foundation.—In the second place fell the noble abbey of Hyde, the foundation of Alfred, and the burying-place of his family. There was no likelihood of there being much opposision to the king's pleasure here; the abbot of it being Dr. John Salcot, alias Capon, who had received this benefice, together with the bishopric of Bangor, in reward for his services in procuring a decision from the university of Cambridge, in favour of the divorce. (2) Nor did his zeal and activity on the present occasion, by which he prevailed upon his monks, being twenty-one in number, to join with him in making a tender of the property in which the Alfreds and Edwards had only given them a life interest, pass unrewarded. (3) For the year after, viz. in 1539, he was promoted to the bishopric of Salisbury.—Last of all fell St. Mary's abbey of Benedictine nuns, founded by Alfred's queen. They contended with the storm that assaulted them, by sometimes appearing to yield to it, and at other times by couragiously resisting it, and actually continued their religious exercises in their own house, two years after they had ceased in the monasteries of the men; when, at length, being quite unsupported, they were forced to

(1) See a list of these, Monast. Ang. vol. II.
(2) Monasticon. Gale's Hist. (3) Ibid.

yield to their fate, and gave up their convent and possessions in the year 1540, four years after obtaining their charter of new foundation.(1)

We are informed that "the seizure of the estates of the lesser abbeys was not generally acceptable to the people.(2) They found hospitality decay, the farmers rents were raised, and the poor increased upon the country." These complaints of course became much louder at the suppression of the greater abbeys. These, as they had it more in their power, so they were generally more beneficial to the public. By their doles and alms, they entirely provided for the poor, insomuch that no poor laws existed until soon after their dissolution. The monks let their farms at easy rents, and made allowances for unfavourable seasons; so that abundance and population increased around them. They received into their houses and entertained strangers of all conditions, according to their rank, gratis. They provided hospitals for the indigent sick, and seminaries for poor children. Their magnificent churches were the schools of the arts, both liberal and mechanical, and their scriptoria and libraries were the only asylum of the sciences and of classical literature.(3) But all these advantages were at present lost to the community, and so many monuments of ancient piety were now annihilated, to gratify the passions of one sensual king, and to raise the families of a few wicked courtiers. The fatal effects of this change were no where more sensible than at Winchester. It had fallen from all its wealth and grandeur, as a royal and commercial city; but the number and splendor of its religious foundations chiefly kept up whatever consequence, trade, and exterior appearance it still possessed. But these being dissolved, and the edifices themselves soon after pulled

(1) Monasticon Anglic.

(2) "It was a pitiful thing to hear the lamentation that the people in the country made for them, (the monasteries first dissolved) for there was great hospitalitie kept amongst them, and as it was thought more than 10,000 persons, maisters and servantes, had lost their livinges by the putting downe of these houses at that time." Stow's Chron. an. 1536.

(3) The number of those afterwards suppressed was 645, besides 90 colleges, 110 hospitals, 373 chantries or free chapels. On the utility of the convents to the public, see Collier, part II. p. 165.

down, or falling to decay, it must soon have worn the appearance of a city sacked by a hostile army. In a word, it is chiefly since the reign of Henry VIII. that Winchester may be said to be no more than the skeleton of its former state. (1)

All the immense property thus iniquitously raised, being very soon squandered away, either in aggrandizing a few court favourites, or at the gaming table; (2) the hoary tyrant began again to look round him for fresh objects of sacrilege. His ecclesiastical vicar-general was now no more. Henry had enjoyed the spoils of his crimes, and had rewarded him for them on the scaffold. In that situation Cromwell had confessed his multiplied guilt, and paid homage to the cause of religion, which he had so much outraged. (3) Still, however, there were not courtiers wanting to point out to him, and a corrupt parliament to grant him a considerable part of the remaining spoils of piety and charity, together with those of literature and commerce. In a word, an act was now obtained, which authorised the king to seize upon all the property of hospitals, chantries, colleges, guilds,

(1) One of our classical poets, contemplating the sacrilegious devastation of Henry VIII., varnished over with the pretence of reformation, exclaims:—

"Who sees these dismal heaps, but would demand
What barbarous invader sack'd the land?
But when he hears, no Goth, no Turk, did bring
This desolation, but a Christian king;
When nothing, but the name of zeal, appears
'Twixt our best actions and the worst of theirs;
What does he think our sacrilege would spare,
When such th' effects of our devotion are?"

Sir John Denham's Cooper's Hill.

(2) Collier, from Fuller, tells us, that Henry played away many a thousand a year belonging to the monasteries. Stow, in his Survey of London, relates, that he staked a remarkably fine ring of bells, which belonged to a parish near St. Paul's, London, on a throw of dice with Sir Miles Partridge; and that, having lost them, they were the next day taken down. It is added, that he once gave away a whole monastery to a lady, in return for a dish of puddings that pleased his appetite. Collier, part II, p. 166.

(3) He said that he had been seduced by the devil, and that he died in the Catholic faith, &c. Stow's Annals, an. 1540.

and corporations. (1) Had this act been strictly carried into execution, Winchester would have been left without a single body corporate, and almost without a monument of antiquity. In reality, all the colleges indiscriminately, and the city corporation, no less than the hospitals, were virtually dissolved; and there is no doubt but that Henry, had he lived a very few years longer, would have seized upon all their property, as he had seized upon that of the abbeys. (2) At present, however, he was content with fleecing some of these establishments, as that of St. Cross, St. Mary Magdalen on the hill, and with devouring others. These latter were most of the chaplainships of the cathedral, and collegiate churches in different parts of the city; but chiefly the hospital of St. John the Baptist, near East-gate, which had been founded by a magistrate of Winchester, and left under the patronage and protection of his successors in that office, for a public charity of the most laudable and beneficial nature. (3) This was actually seized upon for the king's benefit, with all its property, both moveable and immoveable, even to the wretched beds which had been provided for resting the wearied limbs of his poor soldiers, or of other needy travellers, who had a lawful occasion to pass through this city. (4) The corporation was probably too much alarmed for their own immediate preservation, to remonstrate against such injustice and cruelty. However, they afterwards petitioned for the bare walls and site of the hospital, to serve as a public magazine and place of assembly on certain occasions; and were fortunate enough to recover so much of their ancient property. (5)

(1) 37 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

(2) The universities, possibly also the two colleges in this city, petitioned not to be dissolved, and they had interest enough at court to obtain a favourable answer. Collier, part II. p. 209. Still, however, the act of parliament at this time stood against them, and they only existed by royal favour. At a former period of this reign, the university of Cambridge had been visited, by order of vicar-general Cromwell, when all its charters, records, &c. were seized upon.—N.B. The motives alleged in the act for suppressing the colleges, were much the same as those made use of for dissolving the monasteries, namely, that their revenues were misapplied, &c.

(3) See p. 275. (4) Trussel's MSS. (5) Ibid.

The most tyrannical and sanguinary of our monarchs was, at length, forced in his turn to submit to the stroke of death, at the beginning of the year 1547, leaving a son and heir of many promising dispositions, and particularly distinguished by his humanity. (1) As, however, he was but nine years and three months old, at his accession to the throne, it is to the conduct of his ministers, not his own, that we are to attend, during his short reign of six years. Unfortunately these were the same rapacious courtiers, who had stimulated his father to so many acts of injustice and sacrilege, the weight of which had fallen, with such accumulated oppression upon our city. Their very first public act, which bids defiance to all decency and common sense, had the same fatal tendency. The third day after the funeral of the old king, meeting together in council, to the number of sixteen; being the appointed executors to his last will, they pretended that it had been the intention of the deceased, to raise them severally to higher honours, than they at present enjoyed; in proof of which, they brought forward the verbal testimony of one of their own associates, (2) purporting, that Henry had declared his intentions to that effect. He also produced a list of the intended new creations, which he professed to have written by the late king's orders. (3) Had this list been in Henry's own hand-writing, and had he signified, not his intention, but his absolute will, that the creations in question should be made; yet, he having reigned his full time, and being now quiet in his tomb at Windsor, it was impossible that these men should become dukes and lords by his authority. The truth is, the whole transaction bears the mark of imposture and forgery. (4) The honours however were divided amongst the parties,

(1) This was manifested in the opposition which he made, and the tears which he shed, when urged and constrained by archbishop Cranmer, to sign the death-warrant of Joan Knell, alias Butcher, convicted of heresy. See Heylin's Hist. of Ref. p. 89. Collier.

(2) This was sir William Paget. As it was proper that he should be rewarded for so important a service, another of the inferior agents came forward and said, that he had received directions from Henry to write down 400l. per annum for Paget himself. Tindal.

(3) Fuller's Ecc. Hist. Tindal.

(4) This is extremely plain from the whole account of Heylin, who says, "they were

according to their separate inclinations and influence; not without bargaining and exchanging, in order to balance their respective weight in the political scales. (1) What is certain is, that Sir Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, the king's uncle, having previously obtained an absolute ascendency, by being elected governor of the royal youth and protector of the realm, now became duke of Somerset, which was a royal title, (2) with the posts of treasurer and earl marshal; his brother, sir Thomas, was made baron Seymour of Sudley, to which was added the office of lord admiral; Dudley viscount Lisle was gratified with the earldom of Warwick; sir Thomas Wriothesley, instead of earl of Winchester, which title was first intended for him, (3) was created earl of Southampton. The other preferments need not here be mentioned. Sir William Paulet St. John, who afterwards obtained the honours of Winchester, was amongst those who declined promotion on the present occasion. (4) "However," as a learned writer observes, "since title, without a proportionable estate, had more of burden than real advantage, they cast about for a practicable expedient, and resolved upon a sale of the chantry lands, &c." (5) These had been already granted by Parliament (6) to the late king; but as he died without taking possession of many of them, (7) it was thought the more safe and eligible way to procure a fresh act for this purpose, than to proceed on the strength of the former. Accordingly such an act passed this same year, by which all lands and other possessions, belonging not only to chantries and free chapels, but also to colleges, guilds, fraternities, &c. "were conferred on the king *by name*," says an original writer, (8) "but not intended for his benefit only." In short they fell to the disposal of the lord protector, who made use of them as he thought fit, and who did

given out to be designed by king Henry before his death, the better to take off the envy from the protector." Hist. of Edw. p. 32, 33.

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Collier. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. p. 219.

(6) 27 Henry VIII. (7) Heylin; who elsewhere stated that there were still remaining at this time 90 colleges and 2371 chantries and free chapels in different parts of the realm. (8) Heylin, p. 58.

not by any means forget his own profit and dignity, nor that of his family, in the distribution of them. (1) In treading, however, in the steps of the late king, the present ministers avoided his glaring inconsistency. For, in the religious medley, of which he was the author, prayers for the dead, masses, and other rites were retained, for the support of which, these lands and property had been devised; whereas the duke of Somerset, and a majority of the council, embraced that system in speculation, which they had resolved to follow in practice, and accordingly adopted the Protestant religion in all its branches. (2)

Few cities, if any, furnished more ample matter for the operation of the act than Winchester. (3) All those mortuary chapels which still exist in our cathedral, with a great number of altars in other parts of it, that are now destroyed, had distinct endowments for keeping them in repair and for supporting chaplains to officiate in them. There was a vast number

(1) "Thinking it unnecessary that two cathedrals (St. Paul's and Westminster abbey) should be founded so near one another....and being unfurnished with a house or palace proportionable to his greatness, he doubted not to find room enough upon the dissolution and destruction of so large a fabric, (Westminster abbey) to raise a palace equal to his vast designs." Heylin, p. 61. Being afterwards forced to relinquish this intention, through a collusion between dean Benson and his own brother, lord Thomas Seymour, he resolved to build his palace of Somerset-house in the Strand. In order to furnish the necessary materials for this his palace, he actually pulled down the venerable and curious churches of St. Martin le Grand and St. John of Jerusalem, with four or five other churches in London and Westminster, together with three episcopal houses and the cloisters of St. Paul, containing the curious *Dance of Death*. St. Margaret's church, Westminster, only escaped this fate, through the spirit of the neighbouring inhabitants, who, with sticks and stones, drove off the Duke's workmen, when they were preparing to take it down. Stow. Heylin.

(2) Dr. Heylin tells us, that when "the grandees of the court began to entertain thoughts of a Reformation, they found archbishop Cranmer and some other bishops as forward as themselves; but on different ends: endeavoured by the bishops in a pious zeal....but by the courtiers on an hope to enrich themselves by the spoil of the bishoprics." Hist. of Ref. p. 33.

(3) It is impossible to ascertain how much of these chantry and college lands was seized upon at the latter end of Henry's reign, and how much at the beginning of Edward's. There is reason, however, to believe that far the greater part of them was not actually disposed of until the latter period.

of others in different parts of the city, and some in Wykeham's college, of the same nature; (1) as also different collegiate churches, or chapters of canons, who kept choir, as it is called, or performed the regular service of the church, in the same manner as at the cathedral, and had distinct foundations in land or houses, for the said purposes. All these, with other such consecrated property, throughout the kingdom, were now seized upon, in order to enable the Seymours, the Wriothesleys, and a few more overgrown courtiers, to support their late ill-gotten dignities. Amongst the colleges, which were swallowed up in the present whirlpool of pride and avarice, was one, that was in part instituted for the education of youth, namely, St. Elizabeth's college, founded by bishop Pontissara. This, in the distribution of spoils, fell to the lot of Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, (2) who was already in possession of the greater part of the estates of Hyde abbey; and the situation of it being very convenient for Wykeham's college, Dr. White, who was warden of the latter, purchased it of him, for the use of his society, upon certain conditions, which appeared beneficial to both parties. (3) It will be asked, how Wykeham's college itself escaped destruction on this occasion? The fact is, there was a clause in the act, in favour of Winchester college, Eton college, and the two universities. Thus, instead of suffering by this storm, which proved fatal to so many other colleges, literary as well as religious; our learned seminary was rather benefited by it. The last parliament in the preceding reign had laid them all, without distinction, at the mercy of an individual, who was not much accustomed to the exercise of that virtue; hence, since that time, they had only a precarious subsistence, as depending upon the royal favour, but now they once more obtained a legal establishment. However, though the college of Winchester, with the others mentioned above, were secured in their existence; yet so many and great were the discouragements thrown

(1) The college library was a chapel of this sort, as likewise one or two chapels now destroyed, which then formed part of the present chapel. Whether the society was fortunate enough to save the foundations for supporting them, does not appear.

(2) MSS. Col. (3) Ibid.

out at this time against the pursuits of literature, (1) that they were almost abandoned, and few persons, of liberal minds, chose to reside in them.

It is time to consider the conduct of the bishop of this city, Stephen Gardiner, under the changes that were making in his diocese. In the latter part of his reign, Henry had manifested a desire of tracing back the steps by which he had abandoned the ancient religion; and, Gardiner being abroad at the time of the king's death, received instructions to make certain advances towards a reconciliation of this kingdom with the see of Rome. (2) At the beginning of the present reign he submitted to the circumstances of the times, by owning the royal child to be "supreme head, under God, of the church of England;" (3) and by joining with archbishop Cranmer and the other bishops, in taking out a new licence to govern his see, (4) for so long as he should give satisfaction to the court. (5) In short, he approved of whatever changes in religion had been sanctioned by parliament, but he strongly resisted the duke of Somerset in those fresh alterations which he was introducing, under colour of a visitation; (6) and he insisted that things should remain in the same state in which they were, until the king was of age. He had been committed prisoner to the Fleet in 1547, and again discharged. At

(1) The famous Ascham, queen Elizabeth's tutor, complains at this time that "there is scarce any motive left to apply to study, learning having neither wealth nor respect attached to it."—Latymer complains in his sermon before the king, that many benefices, being let out in fee farm to secular men, or given to their servants, for keeping hounds, hawks, and horses, the poor clergy, in their turn, were forced to go to service, and turn clerks of the kitchen, &c. Those who continued in the colleges were exposed to the insults of barbarian visitors, who termed their seminaries of learning, *the seats of blockheads, the devil's chapels, and the stews of the whore of Babylon, &c.* In the mean time, under the pretence of purging their libraries, whole cart loads of curious manuscripts were carried off, and sold to binders, &c. All volumes containing circles, or other mathematical figures, were condemned as books of magic, and those with clasps or ornaments of precious metal were carried off for a more substantial reason. See Collier, part II, p. 242, 307, 325. Heylin. Dugdale, &c.

(2) This Gardiner himself declared, in his sermon at St. Paul's, Dec. 2, 1554. Dodd, vol. I.

(3) Stow. (4) Collier, part I, p. 218. 1 Edw. VI. c. II.—For electing bishops by letters patent, &c. Heylin, p. 51, 52.

(5) "Durante beneplacito." Collier, p. 218. (6) Ibid. p. 252.

length, in the summer of 1548, things came to a crisis between the protector and him. He was to preach before the king, and the duke strictly enjoined him to abstain from mentioning the important question of the sacrament in his sermon; and, on the other hand, to inculcate that the spiritual supremacy was as real and absolute in the hands of the council during the king's minority, as it would be in his own hands, when he came of age. (1) This proposition would have been in fact to ascribe the plenitude of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and a kind of infallibility, to the duke himself, whose power was then absolute and unbounded. The protector even sent his secretary, Cecil, to demand of Gardiner the manuscript notes of his sermon, that he might examine it, before it was preached. (2) The bishop evaded this requisition, and preached his sermon according to his own ideas and theological principles; which proving contrary to the commands of the duke, in both the above-mentioned particulars, he was committed prisoner to the Tower. (3) When the protector sent Gardiner, in so arbitrary a manner, to prison, he little imagined that he himself should so soon follow him thither. It is true, he supported his authority some time longer, and directed certain important transactions; the principal of which was, the imprisonment and execution of his own brother, lord Thomas Seymour, of Sudley, high admiral of England, upon the most frivolous charges, (4) without allowing him the benefit of a defence. (5) At length, the greater part of the other counsellors, indignant at the state of insignificancy to which they were reduced; after securing the magistrates of London in their interest, seized upon the protector, and sent him to keep company with bishop Gardiner in the Tower. (6) The latter, hearing of this revolution,

(1) Collier, p. 249, 250, 251. Heylin. Dodd.

(2) Collier.

(3) Heylin, p. 63. Stow's Annals, May 30, 1548.

(4) See those charges in Heylin, p. 72, who adds, "he seems rather to have fallen a sacrifice to the private malice of a woman, (the Duchess of Somerset) than the public justice of the state,.....the warrant for his execution coming under the hand of his own brother." He suffered March 20, 1548.

(5) Stow. Heylin.

(6) Oct. 14, 1549.

was unable to conceal his joy, (1) imagining that he should have been immediately restored to his liberty and power. In this, however, he was deceived: for, though Dudley, earl of Warwick, who was now at the head of affairs, and certain others of his junto, secretly entertained the same partiality for the ancient Catholic religion, that he himself did; (2) yet, being much more intent upon the gratification of their avarice and ambition, they openly declared in favour of a further reformation. (3) In fact, a new creation of titles and distribution of honours now took place; in which sir John Russel became duke of Bedford, and Paulet lord St. John earl of Wiltshire. "Being furnished with honours," says a learned advocate of the established church, (4) "it is presumed they would find some way to provide themselves sufficient means to maintain their dignities." Ecclesiastical property was the unfailing resource on such occasions. What, for the present, was seized upon, were chiefly the moveables of the church. (5) In the first year of the present reign, the lord protector and the council had published certain injunctions, by virtue of which their visitors were ordered to remove all images, shrines, candlesticks, &c. which had been abused for superstitious purposes; at the same time leaving it to these interested judges, to decide which of them had or had not been so abused. (6) Our bishop Gardiner had opposed the execution of this order within his

(1) Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(2) This appeared afterwards at his execution, when, like vicar-general Cromwell, he declared himself to be of the Catholic religion, notwithstanding all he had done to subvert it. The earl of Southampton Wriothesley, and the marquis of Winchester Paulet St. John, were also interiorly of the same religion, which they transmitted to their posterity. The same is to be said of the earls of Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Arundel; of lord Paget, as likewise of sir Antony Brown, sir John Gage, sir William Petre, Antony Bellasis, and others, who had been the most active instruments of government in dissolving abbeys, and making ecclesiastical visitations, &c. One of the above-mentioned, after accumulating estates by these means, applied to the pope for a dispensation to keep them, the tenor of which may be seen in Dugdale.

(3) Collier, part II. p. 288. Heylin. (4) Heylin, p. 85.

(5) Not but that many lands were also alienated from the church on this occasion, as may be seen, ibid.

(6) Injunct. art. 3, 28. Heylin, p. 35, 36.

diocese, particularly at Portsmouth, where the images of Christ were treated with the greatest indecency; (1) and, by letters dated from this city, had addressed the protector on the subject. (2) The arguments which he then made use of, appear satisfactory to the most learned Protestant divines; (3) one of whom testifies that "covetousness more than zeal spurred on this business, there being none of the images so poor and mean, the spoil whereof would not afford some gold and silver, if not jewels also, besides censers, candlesticks, and many other rich utensils belonging to them." (4) Still however the injunctions were limited to certain articles; and, from the resistance of the people, who rose in defence of their altars in this county, (5) as well as in many others, had been but imperfectly executed. But now, (6) under colour of still further removing all occasions of superstition; so anxious were these religious courtiers for the spiritual benefit of the people of England! another visitation was set on foot, "the main business of which was to take down altars, and put tables in their room." (7) Some specious arguments were made use of to disguise this measure, but the real ground of it was soon visible; when the visitors, under pretence of removing the altars, carried away every valuable belonging to them, and stripped all the churches, throughout the realm, of all gold and silver, plate, jewels, and metal in general, which had been used either in decorating the altars themselves, by way of antependiums, tabernacles, candlesticks, crucifixes, or other statues, &c. or that had been employed in the divine service, such as chalices, patens, cruets, thuribles, and divers other articles, too many for enumeration; leaving only one chalice to every church, with a cloth or covering for the communion table. (8) "Some profit," says the historian above quoted, "was thereby raised to the king's exchequer, yet far the greatest part of the prey came to other hands; insomuch that many private persons parlours were hung with altar cloths, their tables and beds

(1) Collier. (2) Fox, Acts and Monum. Dodd, Ecc. Hist. vol. i.
(3) Heylin, p. 56. Collier, p. 222. (4) Heylin, p. ibid.
(5) Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. i. p. 408. Tindal. (6) A.D. 1550.
(7) Collier, p. 304. Heylin, p. 95. (8) Heylin, p. 95, 131.

covered with copes,....and many made carousing cups of the sacred vessels, as once Belshazzar celebrated his drunken feast in the sanctified vessels of the temple. It was a sorry house, and not worth naming, which had not somewhat of this furniture in it.....Yet how contemptible were these trappings in comparison of those vast sums of money which were made of the jewels, plate, and cloth of tissue!" (1) As in no part of the kingdom had the churches been more plentifully and sumptuously provided with whatever implements or ornaments tended to the order and magnificence of religion, than those of Winchester, and particularly its cathedral; so no where was the tide of sacrilegious rapine swelled with more numerous and ample spoils than in this city. Then were the precious and curious monuments of piety and antiquity, the presents of Egbert and Ethelwolph, Canute and Emma, unrelentingly rifled, and cast into the melting pot, for the mere value of the metal which composed them. Then were the golden tabernacles and images of the apostles snatched from the cathedral and other altars, under the false and absurd pretext, that these things were objects of idolatry to the people. A great proportion of these moveable articles, as we have seen above, fell into the hands of active individuals, who were before hand with the public visitors in rifling the churches; out of which, however, it is probable that some of these articles were recovered, by means of a fresh commission, issued chiefly for this purpose, at the end of this reign; (2) whilst not a few of these sacred implements, though chiefly of

(1) Heylin.—The following reflexion of Dr. Collier seems more applicable to this than to any other period of the Reformation. "It must be confessed there were several shocking circumstances in the reign of Henry VIII. and of his children. For to see churches pulled down or rifled, the plate swept off the altar, and holy furniture converted to common uses, has no great air of devotion. To see the choir undressed, to make the drawing-room and bed-chamber fine, was not very primitive, at first view. The forced surrender of abbeys, the maiming of bishoprics, &c. are apt to puzzle a vulgar capacity. Unless a man's understanding is more than ordinarily improved, he will be at a loss to reconcile these measures with Christian maxims, and make them fall in with conscience and reformation." Ecc. Hist. part II, p. 163.

(2) A.D. 1553.

the less valuable sort, are at this present day to be found in many private houses of this city and neighbourhood.

All this time bishop Gardiner continued a prisoner in the Tower. Thus it was not in his power to throw any obstacle in the way of the late visitations, as he had done in that of the former. But now a measure was in agitation, which could not well be performed without a complying bishop; hence his deprivation became unavoidable. The fact is, as most of the other bishoprics had, by this time, been dismembered of a considerable part of their manors, in favour of one or other of the courtiers; (1) so it was resolved that the church of Winchester should be further reduced, in order first to secure the title of sir Henry Seymour to the manors of Marwell and Twyford, which his brother, the duke of Somerset, had before seized for his benefit; (2) and secondly, to enrich other courtiers, parti-

(1) The learned Harmer (Henry Wharton, in his Specimen of Errors and Defects in Burnet's History of the Reformation) speaking of Vesey, bishop of Exeter, observes, that he alienated no possessions of his see, but upon express command of the king, (Edward VI.) directed unto him, under the privy seal, in favour of certain noblemen and courtiers. All the bishops, as this author continues, at this time were subject to the like calamity. Even Cranmer was forced to part with the better half of the possessions of his see; and Ridley, soon after his entry into London, was forced to give away four of the best manors of his see in one day. These two were the greatest favourites amongst the bishops of that reign. Others were yet more severely dealt with. Collect. Records, No. 67. Collier, vol. II.

(2) " Sir Henry Seymour, second son of sir John Seymour, was not found to be of so fine metal as to make a courtier, and was therefore left unto the life of a country gentleman; advanced, by the power and favour of his elder brother, to the order of knighthood, and afterwards estated in the mannours of Marwell and Twyford, in the county of Southampton, dismembered, in those broken times, from the see of Winchester. To each of these belonged a park, that of the first containing no less than four miles; that of the last but two in compass, the first being also honoured with a goodly mansion-house, belonging anciently to those bishops, and little inferior to the best of that wealthy bishoprick. There goes a story, that the priest officiating at the altar, in the church of Ouselbury, (of which parish Marwell was a part) after the mass had been abolished by the king's authority, was violently dragged thence by this sir Henry, beaten, and most reproachfully handled by him, his servants universally refusing to serve him, as the instruments of his rage and fury: and that the poor priest, having first had an opportunity to get into the church, did openly curse the said sir Henry

cularly the lord treasurer Paulet, who had cast his eye upon the palace, park, and estates of Bishop's Waltham. It is not necessary to describe at large the illegal artifices made use of to dispossess Gardiner of his see; that Cranmer stretched a point in this process beyond equity and law is admitted by Burnet himself. (1) It is sufficient to say, that Gardiner was declared to be no longer bishop of Winchester; and that Dr. Poynet, being the first bishop who was consecrated according to the new ordinal, lately published, (2) received letters patent to succeed him. He was a divine of King's college, Cambridge, and was celebrated for his universal learning, and also for his skill in mechanics; having invented a clock of curious workmanship, which he presented to the late king. (3) These qualifications, however, of themselves do not come up to the character given by St. Paul of a good bishop. He is accordingly described by eminent historians, as being a very indifferent prelate,; (4) and they plainly signify, that he was preferred to this rich bishopric from the see of Rochester, which he before held, for the simoniacal purpose of betraying the possessions of it to those who promoted him. (5) Besides the manors which were disposed of to the noble personages already mentioned, there are records proving that he signed away a great number of other most valuable possessions of this see, (6)

and his posterity with bell, book, and candle, according to the use observed in the church of Rome. Which, whether it were so or not, or that the main foundation of this estate being laid in sacrilege, could promise no long blessing to it, certain it is his posterity are brought beneath the degree of poverty." Heylin's Hist. of Ref. p. 4, 5.—The tradition of the country is, that the priest was afterwards shot, as he was officiating at the altar; and a hole is shewn in the wall which is said to have been made by the bullet that killed him.

(1) See Collier, p. 305. (2) Collier. (3) Godwin, De Præsul.

(4) Heylin. A. Wood, who calls him a Calvinistical bishop, &c.

(5) "John Poynet, a better scholar than a bishop, and purposely preferred to that rich bishoprick to serve other men's turns. For, before he was well warm in his see, he dismembered from it the goodly palace of Marwell, with the mannours and parks of Marwell and Twyford, which had before been seized upon by the lord protector, to make a knight's estate for sir Henry Seymour, &c. Heylin, p. 101.

(6) "Memorandum, that Sept. 18, in the fifth year of our sovereign king Edward VI, sir Richard Read, knt. one of the masters in chancery, brought from Winchester, from the bishop, dean, and chapter, a deed quadripartite of feoffment, indented, made to his Majesty, &c. of

with a facility which seems to have provoked the then dean; who, though a mere layman, and one who was connected with the court by religion as well as by office, is thought to have opposed these surrenders, until he was committed to prison, in order to render him more complying. (1) It seems, from the account of a celebrated antiquary, (2) that bishop Poynet, notwithstanding all his learning, was destitute of the liberality and toleration which became a scholar. This was particularly manifest in his treatment of the learned Andrew Borde; who having studied physic before he became a Carthusian monk, applied himself with great success to the practice of it, on the dissolution of his order; and who, having seen most parts of christendom, chose Winchester for the place of his residence, and professed a particular attachment to it. (3) It appears that bishop Poynet took advantage of the superior ground on which he stood, to oppress him with calumny when he could not confute him by argument, and to give him all the disturbance in his power. (4) Amongst other things he appears to have caused him to be committed to the Fleet prison, in which confinement he died. (5)

the mannors of Marden, Twiford, Marwell, Waltham, Drokinsfield, Brensted, and Bittern, the hundred of Waltham, and the chace near the forest of Bere: also the mannors of Sutton, Ropley, Hedley, and the borough of Alresford, the hundred of Sutton, together with twenty-nine manors more, and some burroughs and hundreds more." Rec. ap Collier, No. 67.

(1) This was sir John Mason, knt. and master of requests; who, without orders, or other pretension to an ecclesiastical benefice, was at the beginning of the reformation, viz. Oct. 9, 1549, made and installed dean of this cathedral, being next in succession to Kingsmill, the last prior and first dean. Gale's Hist. of Win. Cath. p. 114. Heylin, p. 142.—The circumstance of his opposition to these surrenders is presumed by Collier, from his having been committed to the Marshalsea, a little before they were made. See the Records above quoted.

(2) Ant. Wood, Athen. Oxon. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.

(5) Dodd's Ch. Hist.—Andrew Borde was a noted writer and poet; and, amongst other works, published the Introduction of Knowledge, which contains the celebrated character of the natives of this country:—

I am an Englishman, and naked I stand here,
Musing in my mind what garment I shall weare:
For now I will weare this and now I will weare that,
Now I will weare I cannot tell what.
I do fear no man, all man feareth me,
I overcome my adversaries by land and by sea, &c. Camden's Remains, p. 18.

We have hinted that Paulet lord St. John, who now appeared to be strongly attached to the earl of Warwick, (1) and had lately been created earl of Wiltshire, had procured for himself the episcopal palace of Waltham, with the park, manor, and estates belonging to it. (2) "Having thus got into possession of so much lands of the bishopric, he conceived himself in a fit capacity to affect the title of lord marquis of Winchester." (3) This dignity was accordingly, through the interest of his patron Dudley, who chose for himself the dukedom of Northumberland, (4) conferred upon him, by way of preparation for the grand catastrophe that was now in contemplation at court; where every day's experience more fully proved the impossibility of two rival interests subsisting together in the king's councils. We have seen by what means the great duke of Somerset had, on a former occasion, been brought under the power of Dudley, earl of Warwick, and committed to the Tower, in the middle of October, 1549; and there is no doubt but his head would have answered for the charges then brought against him, had it not been for the submission and confession of guilt then made and subscribed by him, which were so very abject, (5) that it seemed impossible he should ever again rise to consequence, or become an object of jealousy to his rival. Hence he was enlarged in the February following, and permitted once more to take his seat at the council board, as a private member, not as the head and dictator of it, which had heretofore been the case. (6) It was soon found, however, that he had gained a great ascendency over his royal nephew. This circumstance, and his manifestly standing in the way of the duke of Northumberland's ambitious projects, who was bent upon transferring the crown of England

(1) "A most affectionate servant of the earl of Warwick." Heylin, p. 85, also p. 111.

(2) Idem, p. 101. (3) Ibid.

(4) Viz. 11th Oct. 1551.—Grunthuyse, the Flemish nobleman who had been made earl of Winchester by Edward IV. voluntarily renounced that and his other English honours, and retired to his own country, on the accession of Henry VII. Camden's Britain.

(5) See two different submissions made by the duke, in Stow's Annals.

(6) 8th April.

from the family of Tudor to that of Dudley, caused him to be a second time apprehended and sent to the Tower; about two years from the time of his former commitment, and five days after the late promotions. (1) As it was not his degradation, but his death, which was now sought for; so it was in vain to make acts of submission or promises. The person chosen to perform the principal part in this tragedy was the late created nobleman; who, both on account of his title and his possessions, had so near a relation with this city. The trial, which took place in Westminster-hall, was conducted with great solemnity; "the lord high steward for the time, being the marquis of Winchester, who took his place under the cloth of estate, raised three steps higher than the rest of the scaffold." (2) In this situation he was now enabled to pass sentence of death upon a nobleman, whose very name, a little more than two years before, had caused him to tremble; (3) which sentence was accordingly executed January 23, 1552. (4)

(1) Heylin. (2) Idem. Stow.

(3) Amongst his partisans, that were condemned and suffered death soon after him, was sir Miles Partridge, who, as the historian adds, "was little lamented of the people, for having deprived them of the best ring of bells that they had, called Jesus bells, which winning of king Henry, at a cast of dice, he caused to be taken down and sold, or melted for his own advantage. If any bell tolled for him, when he went to his death, or the sight of a halter made him think of a bell rope, it could not but remember him of his fault in that particular." Heylin, p. 117.

(4) This first marquis of Winchester, and founder of the Paulet family, was originally steward to the bishopric of Winchester, in the time of bishop Fox, by whom he was introduced to the court of Henry VII. So great was his address, and so ductile his disposition, that he chimed with the prevailing party, both in religion and politics, during all the numberless changes which took place under the five successive sovereigns of the House of Tudor. Being once asked the question, how he stood so many severe storms of the state? he answered, *because I am a willow, not an oak.* In the last stage of his life, he rendered himself so agreeable to queen Elizabeth, that she declared, if he were but a younger man, there was not a person in her dominions whom she would so soon take for a husband as the marquis of Winchester. Such a conduct may be the road at courts to personal security, power, and wealth; but at the same time it implies a total sacrifice of conscious rectitude and heartfelt peace! See Richardson, Notes on Godwin. Heylin. Nichols, Progr. of Queen Eliz. vol. i.

If it be true that the duke of Northumberland hastened the young king's death,(1) he thereby only accelerated his own ruin. For having succeeded in his ambitious views, to the extent even of his wishes,(2) so far as to procure the crown for lady Jane Grey, who was married to his son, lord Guildford; he thereby brought on a crisis in his fortune, which soon ended in his own death, and that of his son and daughter, upon a scaffold. Hence the succession continues in its natural course, notwithstanding all the pains that had been taken to divert it; and Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Arragon, now mounts the throne. However unpopular the reign of this queen has proved with the nation in general, yet certainly it served to raise the drooping head of our city; and, had it continued longer, would probably have restored it to some degree of its ancient consequence and splendor. One of her first acts of power was to reinstate, in his dignity, the bishop of this see, Gardiner, whom she considered as suffering in her own cause. (3) Having been deprived of his bishopric by an uncanonical process, and mere secular authority, the sentence was considered as invalid; and he took possession of its spiritual and temporal rights, as a matter of course. Within a month after this event, the queen, having had experience of his great talents, both against her cause and for it, made him her chancellor; and as archbishop Cranmer was now a prisoner, in the Tower, upon a charge of high treason, in declaring for lady Jane, against the rights of the queen and her sister Elizabeth; (4) hence our prelate had the honour of performing the ceremony of crowning her,

(1) Heylin and many other writers positively assert that Edward VI. was poisoned; others with more justice, admit that there are only conjectures to warrant such an assertion.

(2) He was the son of that Dudley, who, in conjunction with Empson, became so infamous for extortions in the reign of Henry VII. and was executed for them in the reign of Henry VIII. Having procured the dissolution of the bishopric of Durham, it was his intention to get the lands of it, together with the ancient patrimony of the Piercy's, erected into a palatinate in his own favour. He actually seized the house of that see, in the Strand, called Durham-house.

(3) She called him, the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Exeter, and the duchess of Somerset, whom she set at liberty at the same time, *her prisoners*. Stow's Annals.

(4) Heylin, &c.

which took place October 1, in the year 1553. With respect to the degraded prelate Poynet, whose consecration having been performed according to the ordinal of Edward VI. was considered as invalid; he permitted himself to be so far hurried away with resentment and religious zeal, as to join sir Thomas Wyat, (1) who, at the beginning of the ensuing year, appeared in arms against the government, and threatened a new revolution in church and state. (2) This would probably have been the case, had the General attended to Poynet's advice: but losing time in his march to London, on an unnecessary business, (3) the latter saw that the day was lost to his party, and therefore withdrew himself, before the engagement took place with the queen's forces, and effected his escape into Germany. (4)

The restoration of the ancient religion, which Mary had effected, was the main spring of the late rebellion; though her intended marriage with Philip, then prince of Spain, was held forth by the leaders as the motive of it, being a far more popular pretext. (5) The insurrection being suppressed, and such precautions taken, as the queen thought sufficient for quieting the minds of the people, and preserving the independancy of England; she not neglecting, in the mean time, to strengthen the hands of those who appeared to be firmly attached to her by new honours and

(1) This fact is positively and circumstantially related by the truth-telling contemporary annalist John Stow, as also by Heylin, &c. Nevertheless it is denied by bishop Burnet, but upon the most frivolous grounds, as Collier proves, Eccl. Hist. part II, p. 363. Perhaps there never was an historian, against whom a greater number of falsehoods have been proved, than bishop Burnet. See Bevil Higgons's Historical and Critical Remarks on Burnet's *History of his own Times*, and Antony Harmer, Collier, &c. with respect to his *History of the Reformation*. Sir John Dalrymple in his Memoirs says, "I have never tried Burnet's facts by the tests of dates and original papers, without finding them wrong." P. 34.

(2) Rapin and some other modern writers pretend that Wyat was himself a Catholic: nothing can be said more false, as appears from the *Apparatus* of Camden's Annals, p. 12.

(3) A piece of ordnance, belonging to Wyat's army, breaking down, he halted a considerable time in order to repair it. Stow. (4) Idem.

(5) "It cannot be denied, that the restitution of the reformed religion was the matter principally aimed at in this rebellion, though nothing but the match with Spain appeared on the outside of it" Heylin, Hist. of Mary, p. 34.—John Fox also owns that Wyat's party "conspired for religion." Acts and Mon.

offices, (1) the business of the marriage went on with all convenient dispatch. Our city was the place fixed upon for the performance of this august ceremony. The motives for this choice were, probably, that the neighbourhood of the capital was subject to riots; that this city was a convenient place for the meeting of the illustrious pair; being near Southampton, where Philip was to land, and having a royal palace in the castle for their reception, and a majestic cathedral proper for the performance of the sacramental contract. It was also the seat of bishop Gardiner's jurisdiction, who was pitched upon to bestow the nuptial benediction. On the 19th of July, being the same day on which, in the preceding year, Mary had been proclaimed queen, Philip, whose title was then that of prince of Spain, arrived at Southampton, with a fleet of 160 sail, partly Spanish and partly English. (2) Here he staid four days, during which it appears that the queen, having notice of his arrival, removed from Windsor castle to that of Winchester. In the evening of the 23d, he came from Southampton to this city; and going first to the cathedral, to perform his devotions, was received there in solemn state by the bishop, attended by a great number of the nobility. (3) It is most likely that, on this occasion, he took up his residence in the bishop's palace of Wolvesey. The next day he was introduced, for the first time, to his intended bride, being eleven years older than himself; with whom he had a long and familiar conversation. (4) Finally, the 25th day of the month being arrived, which was the festival of St. James, patron saint of Spain, the queen, with a gallant train of lords and ladies, (5) and Philip, with Figuera, the latter's father, the emperor's ambassador, and other foreigners of distinction, repaired to the cathedral. Here they were received with the utmost solemnity by the bishop and his clergy, who

(1) Viz. lord William Howard earl of Effingham, sir John Williams lord Williams of Tame, sir Edward North baron of Carthlege, and "sir John Bruges, who being descended from sir John Chandos, a right noble banneret, and from the Bottelers, lords of Sudley, was made lord Chandos of Sudley, April 8, which goodly mannor he had lately purchased of the crown, to which it escheated on the death of sir Thomas Seymour." Heylin, Hist. of Qu. Mary, p. 38. Stow.

(2) Heylin. (3) Stow. Heylin. (4) Stow. (5) Heylin.

conducted them to the chapel of the queen's patroness, the Blessed Virgin Mary, (1) which was chosen for the scene of this important ceremony. As soon as this was concluded, the ambassador, in the name of the emperor, presented Philip with an instrument, by which he conferred upon him the kingdom of Naples, with its dependencies. This, in some degree, put the royal pair upon a footing of equality. Accordingly, the trumpets being sounded, they were solemnly proclaimed by the following style, in the English, Latin, and French languages:—*Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; defenders of the faith; princes of Spain and Sicily; archdukes of Austria; dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; counts of Hapsbourg, Flanders, and Tyrol.* (2) This done, the king and queen marched out of the church together, hand in hand, and two swords were carried before them, to denote their distinct capacities in the public government. (3) We may well imagine that old Winchester lifted up her head on this joyful occasion. Certain it is that her charters were renewed, (4) and it is likely that some part of the immense treasures brought over by Philip, (5) which were so much more to the taste of the English, than the splendid titles he had conferred upon their queen, circulated in this city to the benefit of its inhabitants. Amongst the demonstrations of joy, which took place here, epithalamiums were composed by the students of the college; for which they

(1) Now the morning chapel, where the chair is still preserved, in which the queen sat on this occasion.

(2) Stow. Heylin. Collier. In opposition to these, and innumerable other authorities, the romancing Hume tells a series of falsehoods, where he says, "a few days after (Philip's arrival at Southampton) they (queen Mary and he) were married at Westminster, and, having made a pompous entry into London, she carried him to Windsor."—The truth is, the royal pair were married at Winchester, July 25; from which city they removed to Basinghouse, and thence to Windsor, where they arrived August 11. Thence they proceed to Richmond, and afterwards to Southwark. The next day, being August 18th, they entered London.

(3) Heylin. (4) Charter of Elizabeth.

(5) The bullion, brought over by Philip, and sent to the Tower to be coined, filled 97 chests, each chest being a yard and four inches long. It required 20 carts to convey this treasure.

were liberally rewarded by the royal pair, (1) in the visit which they made to this celebrated seminary, with the other places worthy of notice, in Winchester. A more substantial advantage to the city, if properly applied, than those mentioned above, was the restitution of all the lands that had been alienated from its bishopric, which the queen obliged the noblemen who were in possession of them to make. (2) In like manner she required the ornaments, and other moveable property, wherever they could be found, to be restored to the cathedral, and to the other churches from which they had been taken. (3) Not content with this, she was resolved either to give back the abbey lands, which had been alienated by her father, at the beginning of the changes in religion, or to employ them in other works of piety. It was found indeed impossible to make this restitution general, on account of the changes in property which had taken place in the course of 18 years; and accordingly pope Julius III. being consulted on the subject, quieted the minds of most of the possessors of them. (4) However, with respect to such as were actually in her own possession, she declared to the marquis of Winchester, and to other noblemen, whom she summoned to her for this purpose; that her conscience would not permit her to keep them, (5) any more than the title of supreme head of the church of England, which she in fact resigned. It does not appear that any of the ancient religious or charitable establishments in Winchester were actually restored during the short interval that the catholic party was triumphant, except the hospital of St. John, which seems to have been, in a certain degree, new founded by a charitable person, one Richard Lamb; (6) still, however,

(1) Philip and Mary visiting the college, bestowed in alms, (being probably their offering at a high mass there performed) the king 10 *l.* 16 *s.* 7 *d.* the queen 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*. The bishop of Chichester, who attended them, gave 20 *s.*; besides these sums, the royal pair bestowed 40 *s.* on the head schoolmaster, and 20 *s.* on the usher, with a certain sum to be distributed to the 30 elder scholars, in reward for their verses. MSS.

(2) "Waltham, with the rest of Poynet's grants, leases, and alienations were again recovered to the church by the power of Gardiner, when he was restored to his see by queen Mary." Heylin, Hist of Edw. p. 101. (3) Heylin. Collier.

(4) Dodd's Ch. Hist. vol. 1, p. 3. (5) Heylin, p. 64. Dodd. (6) Charter of Elizabeth.

those general measures which were taken in favour of the church, evidently contributed to the prosperity of the city.

As those sanguinary persecutions, for which this reign was, unfortunately, too famous, reached Winchester, it is necessary to say something concerning them; and since the matter has been misrepresented by the generality of writers, for the purpose of keeping up a spirit of unchristian resentment and counter-persecution in the nation, we shall enlarge upon the subject further than would be proper, were a less benevolent object in view than the appeasing of that spirit. First, then, it is to be observed, that if Mary was a persecutor, it was not in virtue of any tenet of her religion that she became so. At her coming to the crown, and for almost two years afterwards, whilst she declared herself openly in favour of the ancient religion; she as openly disclaimed every degree of force or violence against those who professed and practised any of the later systems. (1) We have the ordinances and instructions of the pope for bringing back this kingdom to his communion; in these occur many documents and rules of forbearance and conciliation, but not a word that insinuates corporal punishment or persecution, of any kind. (2) It is also universally admitted that the papal legate, cardinal Pole, uniformly expressed "a strong aversion to extremity and rigour," (3) and opposed the practice of them, as far as was in his power. In like manner it is admitted, that the Spanish chaplains of king Philip, and other catholic preachers, publicly condemned, from the pulpit, the persecution which was then carried on; as being opposite to the christian spirit, and detrimental to the interests of religion. (1) Secondly, if, after an interval of nearly two years toleration, the queen engaged the parliament to revive the ancient acts against Lollards, (5) it cannot be denied that she had many provocations, (6)

(1) Heylin, Hist of Qu. Jane, p. 163. Hist. of Mary, p. 25.

(2) Dodd, vol. 1, p. 545, &c. (3) Collier, p. 377. Echard. Heylin. Rapin. See extracts from his letters, &c. in his life, by Philips, vol. 11.

(4) Philips's Life of Card. Pole. Echard's Hist. of Eng. Collier, &c.

(5) 1st and 2d Phil. and Mary. c. VI.

(6) Heylin, in his Account of the Causes of the Persecution, says, "Such were the madnesses

from which she too hastily inferred that the existence of the Protestant religion was incompatible with the security of her government. These were Wyat's rebellion; the open and avowed attempts made by reformers upon her own life, and the lives of the then established clergy; (1) the prayers that were publicly made in conventicles for her death; (2) the intolerable insults publicly offered to the religion of the state; (3) the political impostures practised against her government and faith; (4) and the seditious and treasonable books which were published by some of the leaders of the reformation, and, amongst the rest, by our late prelate of Winchester, Poynet. (5) All this, however, is offered, not in excuse, but barely in extenuation of the charge brought against Mary. Thirdly, if Gardiner, Bonner, and certain other catholics taught and practised religious persecution in their days, they were not singular in this particular; the most eminent Protestant divines openly inculcated the same intolerant lessons. (6) In like manner, the

of the people....the governors of the church exasperated at these provocations." Hist. of Qu. Mary, p. 47.

(1) William Thomas, clerk of the council to Edward VI. and a disciple of the famous preacher Goodman, plotted the murder of the queen, for which he was sent to the Tower, and afterwards executed; at which time he boasted that he died for his country. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Dr. Bourne and Dr. Pendleton, preaching the Catholic doctrine at St. Paul's cross, barely escaped, the one a dagger which was thrown at him, and which stuck in a post of the pulpit; the other a bullet that was fired at him and grazed his person. Stow. Collier, &c.

(2) Heylin, p. 47.

(3) Dogs and cats, shaved and dressed, like priests officiating, were suspended in the streets or otherwise exposed. Stow, &c.

(4) In March 1554, a girl called Elizabeth Crofts, was concealed in a wall near Aldgate, and there taught to counterfeit a supernatural voice, declaiming against the queen, confession, the mass, &c. Stow. Heylin.—The year following, at Eltham, in Kent, a youth of the name of Featherstone, was instructed to assume the personage of Edward VI. in order to invalidate the queen's right to the throne. Ibid.

(5) Such as the famous John Knox's *Blast against the monstruous Regimen of Women*, and his other works against queen Mary of England, and queen Mary of Scotland. Goodman's book concerning *The superiour Magistrate*, in which he invokes the spirit of Wyat, as a martyr. Poynet's *Treatise on Politic Power*. Heylin. Collier. Ant. Wood.

(6) Beza, the celebrated pastor of Geneva, writing in justification of the burning of Servetus, by his master Calvin, for heterodoxy in religion, which event had lately taken place in

Protestant states were no sooner established, than they every where began to turn the sword against Catholics; (1) and not content with that, the different sects amongst them made use of it against each other. (2) At the very time when Mary was burning Protestants in England, the English refugees in Germany were persecuting each other, on account of their respective opinions. (3) Finally, it is to be observed, that the huge history of these persecutions, written by John Fox, (4) which has been the store-house for all succeeding writers on the same subject, has been demonstrated to be one tissue of falsehood, misrepresentation, and absurdity. (5) Some of his pre-

that city; produces ample authorities from Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Bullinger, Capito, (to whom he might have added even the conciliating Bucer) in defence of capital punishments in matters of religion. See Beza *De Hæreticis puniendis à civili Magistratu, &c. occasione mortis Serveti.*—Cranmer took it upon his conscience that the young king, Edward VI. was obliged to sign the death-warrant of Joan Butcher, condemned for heresy, on account of a singular opinion, concerning the nature of Christ's body. Heylin. Collier, part II, p. 291. He also promoted the capital punishment of other Dissenters, during this reign, as he had in the preceding reign that of Protestants in general.

(1) This is emphatically remarked, with respect to Scotland, by Dr. Robertson, in his History of that country, ann. 1560. The same penal laws against Catholics were about this time enacted in England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, &c.

(2) For the persecutions practised by the Protestants against each other in the Low Countries, see Gerard Brand, Hist. Ref. Pays Bas. For the persecutions raised against the Anabaptists and other Dissenters in this country, see Stow, Collier, Neal's Hist. of Puritans. For the persecutions exercised by Dissenters upon Quakers, see Penn's Life of G. Fox, who complains that 3173 friends had suffered imprisonment, under the commonwealth; of whom 32 had died of the rigours of their confinement. In New England four Quakers, of whom one was a woman, were actually hanged. See also Baxter's *Key to Catholics*, p. 48, and Pref. in which he boasts that his party has the sword to punish Heretics, and calls upon the Protector Cromwell to use it against Papists, Seekers, and Quakers.

(3) Heylin, Hist. of Qu. Mary, p. 61, 62.

(4) Acts and Monuments, by John Fox. He held a prebend in Salisbury cathedral, though he refused to conform to the discipline or sign the articles of the church of England. Heylin, Collier.

(5) The innumerable falsehoods and misrepresentations of this work, (new editions of which are annually published, to keep up that spirit which it was first written to produce) have been demonstrated by Alanus Copus, alias Nic. Harpsfield, by F. Parsons, in his Three Conversions, and in part by Ant. Wood, Collier, and other learned and candid Protestants.

tended martyrs were alive at the time when he was describing the circumstances of their death; (1) many of them were executed for rebellion, assassination, theft, or other crimes; (2) not a few of them died in the open profession of the Catholic doctrine, or only differed in certain points of no great consequence to the main subjects of controversy; (3) whilst the greater part either differed from the received doctrines of the established church, or differed from each other in some of the points at least on which they were arraigned and condemned. (4)

Having made these general observations upon the persecutions carried on in this reign; we shall now give an account of those sufferers, whose history is connected with that of this city. The only person who was actually executed at Winchester, on this occasion, was Thomas Benbridge, (5) who appears to have been a person of some consideration, and a resident in this city or neighbourhood. Being accused of heterodox opinions, he was, in 1558, imprisoned and examined several times by Dr. White; (6) who, as will be afterwards seen, succeeded Gardiner in this bishopric. We have the articles, to the number of nine, on which the charge against him of heresy was grounded, and his answers to those charges; which,

(1) Ant. Wood says, that Fox has committed many errors, by trusting to the relations of poor simple people, and in making such martyrs that were living after the first edition of his book, though afterwards by him excused and omitted. Athen. Oxon.—It is plain, however, that these omissions only regarded such, as were actually proved to be then alive by Alanus Copus, as was the case with the musician Merbeck. The same learned antiquary brings numerous proofs of remaining errors, sufficient to invalidate the credit of the whole Martyrology. See the remarkable story of one Grimwood, who was actually present in a church, when the clergyman was describing, on the authority of Fox's Acts and Monuments, (see p. 2100) the circumstances of his supposed miserable and preternatural death, "his bowels, by the judgment of God, falling out of his body in consequence." Grimwood, in return, brought an action against the clergyman for defamation. Athen. Oxon. Hen. Morgan. (2) For example, sir John Oldcastle, sir Henry Acton, John Onley, William Flower, William Gardiner, &c.

(3) For example, Savanarolla, Rhedonensis, Hun, Thomas Bilney, William Taylor, &c. To these may be added the pretended confessors, Picus Mirandula, Erasmus, &c.

(4) See, at large, *The Three Conversions of England*, part III.

(5) Fox's Calendar, July 16. Acts and Monuments, p. 2046, 4th edit. (6) Ibid.

though different from the Catholic doctrine, are far from agreeing, in several points, with that of the church of England. (1) In conclusion, he was condemned to the flames, and, being led to the stake, began to prepare for his severe trial with great courage and alacrity, undressing himself and disposing of his clothes to the persons present. (2) In the mean time, one Dr. Seaton was very earnest in his endeavours to make him recant; to whom, at first, he returned no answer at all, but at length exclaimed, *away, Babylonian, away.* Fire was now set to the fatal pile, when Benbridge, feeling the heat of it in his legs, cried out, *I recant;* (3) upon which some of his friends rushing forward soon withdrew the flaming faggots from about him, and the sheriff, sir Richard Pecksal, took it upon himself to stop the execution, and to carry back the prisoner to his former place of confinement; not, however, until he had, with some difficulty, been induced to sign articles of retraction, which were drawn up on the spot by Dr. Seaton. Being in prison, he wrote a letter to the last-mentioned, retracting his recantation, which caused him to be effectually burnt July 31, just a fortnight after the former transaction. The sheriff himself was committed to prison in London, and confined there some time, for having, without sufficient grounds or authority, prevented the execution, when it was first ordered. (4)

Another sufferer in this odious persecution, was intimately connected with our city, both by his birth and the office which he held, though he was imprisoned and executed in London. This was John Philpot, son of sir Peter Philpot, knight, born at the neighbouring village of Twyford, where his family had been for some time settled. (5) He studied the civil

(1) Particularly concerning the validity of Catholic baptism, the authority of the church, and the succession of bishops from the apostles.

(2) "His gown he gave to the keeper, his jerkin, being laid on with gold lace, fair and brave, he gave to the sheriff, his cap of velvet he threw away." Fox, p. 2047.

(3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.

(5) Ant. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Fox. Parsons. These writers only say, that the family was settled in Hampshire: it appears, however, from Leland's Itin. vol. III, that Twyford was the place of their residence.

law at New College, Oxford, during six or seven years, applying himself, at the same time, to languages, particularly to the Hebrew; which seems to argue a turn of mind for theological disquisitions. He afterwards travelled abroad, into Italy and other countries. Returning home he obtained of bishop Gardiner the advowson of the archdeaconship of Winchester, (1) to which he was presented by Dr. Poynet, whom he had materially served in contributing by his evidence, to the deprivation of Gardiner. (2) At the conferences held at the convocation-house at the beginning of Mary's reign, he was one of the chief disputants for the reformed doctrine, and shewed great talents and learning on the subject of the sacrament; (3) but proved short and embarrassed concerning the authority of the church to decide upon matters of controversy. (4) What was particularly objected to him by the prolocutor, Dr. Weston, was his want of temper, and his neglecting to observe the order of debate; as likewise his refusing to appear in the ordinary habit of clergymen. (5) This, and the unusual language which he held on the nature of the sacrament; (6) seem to prove that he was puritanically affected. Soon after the conclusion of the convocation he was called to an account by Gardiner, who was at the same time his ordinary and the lord chancellor, for the doctrines he had therein advanced, and committed to the King's Bench prison. This he complained of as a great injustice, because liberty of speech was understood to be no less a privilege of the convocation than of the parliament itself. (7) Here he remained a year and a half, until the revival of the persecuting statutes above-mentioned; when he was summoned before bishop Bonner of London, and confined in,

(1) Fox. Parsons.

(2) Fox, p. 1351.—It appears that Gardiner held Philpot, at that time, for a violent and extravagant character, as, in his justification, he says of him: "I accompted Philpot altered in his wittes." Ibid. (3) Collier, p. 357. (4) Ibid, p. 358.

(5) Ibid.

(6) He offered to prove before the whole house and council, that "Christ was not present in the sacrament anywise." He also frequently appealed to the spirit that was in him, though he called Joan Butcher a vain woman for having done the same. Fox.

(7) Fox. Collier.

what is called, his coal-hole. He at different times objected to Bonner's jurisdiction over him, as not belonging to his diocese. The bishop answered, that the speeches for which Philpot had been committed, having been uttered in his diocese, he had authority to call him to an account for them. We have the substance of fourteen different conferences, between Bonner, or his deputies, and Philpot, drawn up by the latter; (1) in which he display his usual talents, but at the same time betrays his accustomed violence and self-confidence. In the end he was condemned, as an obstinate heretic, and given up to the secular power, to be proceeded against as the law directed. (2) Two days afterwards, viz. the 18th of December, 1557, (3) he was conducted to Smithfield; where, having made his prayer and distributed his money to those who had been kind to him, he underwent his severe fate with undaunted resolution.

Gardiner, who had originally only voted for the persecution, in a limited degree, fancying that a few capital punishments would have the effect of making the whole nation of one religion; (4) on finding that these sanguinary measures produced a contrary effect to that which he expected, declined any further concern in them. (5) Had he been disposed to take an active part in so disgusting an employment, he was too much occupied in the important concerns of the state, to admit of it, and he was now fast declining towards the conclusion of his variegated life. Having opened a new parliament, in quality of lord chancellor, October 21, 1555, he was

(1) Fox's Acts and Monum.—It is nevertheless difficult to conceive how such voluminous papers could have escaped the vigilancy of Philpot's keepers, who detected so many other papers belonging to him, and the ink and penknife which were artfully conveyed to him in a roasted pig.

(2) Whatever might be Bonner's disposition, his authority as a bishop did not, and could not, proceed further than to pronounce on the heterodoxy of the person examined by him. This is expressly declared in the tenor of the ecclesiastical sentence, which was exactly the same that Cranmer and many other Protestant bishops had pronounced in similar circumstances; as may be seen in Collier, Ecc. Hist. part II, p. 291, 292.

(3) Acts and Monum. Dec. 3, Calendar.

(4) Heylin, Qu. Mary, p. 47. (5) Collier, p. 382. Echard.

two days afterwards seized with the gout, (1) and died in sentiments of great humility and contrition, (2) November 12 following, at York-place, now Whitehall. Thence his body was removed to a vault in St. Mary Overy's church, in Southwark, until every thing was ready for his funeral at Winchester. At length, on the 20th of the ensuing February, (his figure, made of wax and habited in rich pontifical ornaments, lying on the coffin) (3) the corpse was conveyed to this city, attended by lord viscount Montague and the bishop of Ely, who were his executors, and above 200 horsemen in mourning dresses, and buried in the chapel which he had prepared for that purpose in his life time, opposite to that of bishop Fox; where, after resting in peace for nearly a century, it was disturbed in the manner we shall afterwards have to relate. (4)

Bishop Gardiner was succeeded in the see of Winchester by Dr. White, who was born of a good family at Farnham, (5) and received his first education at the college in this city. Thence he removed to Wykeham's

(1) Fox, and after him Burnet, and other historians, relate that on the day of Ridley and Latimer's execution at Oxford, Gardiner postponed his dinner until he had received an account of that tragical event, having messengers at proper distances on the road to convey him the earliest intelligence; that the old duke of Norfolk, who was then one of his guests, expressed great uneasiness at the delay of his meal; and that on the arrival of the news, Gardiner, transported with joy, sat down to table, where he was seized with the disury, and being carried to bed, died in great torments a fortnight after.—The falsehood of this story, founded in excessive prejudice, is disproved by Collier, from the following circumstances: Latimer and Ridley suffered Oct. 16. Oct. 21 Gardiner opened the parliament, which he afterwards attended a second time. The old duke of Norfolk had been dead a year before this event; and Gardiner himself died Nov. 12, not of the disury, but of the gout. Ecc. Hist. p. 386.

(2) He died, say Godwin and Parker, repeating these words, *Erravi cum Petro, at non flevi cum Petro.* In the sermon which he preached before the king and queen, his words were, *Negavi cum Petro, exivi cum Petro, sed nondum amare flevi cum Petro.* Dodd.

(3) Stow. Godwin. (4) See our Survey.

(5) Ant. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Camden, Annal. Eliz. Godwin, by an error, which is also adopted by Heylin and Collier, says, "Wintoniæ natus: Pitsius "non longe a Wintoniâ in lucem editus."

college at Oxford, of which he became a fellow, and took the degree of A.M. He returned to Winchester, being elected head master of the college school; in which capacity he has been celebrated by his scholars and others for his prudent and pious conduct, as likewise for the extent of his genius and learning. (1) He was afterwards chosen warden of the college (2) and appears to have been principally instrumental in saving it, when the adjoining college of St. Elizabeth, the site of which he purchased, and so many others, were utterly destroyed. Refusing to give into the irreligious measures of the duke of Somerset, he was deprived of his wardenship, and committed prisoner to the Tower, (3) where he lay until the reign of Mary; by whose interest he was first raised to the see of Lincoln, and now, upon the death of Gardiner, translated to that of Winchester; which, on account of his predilection for his native country, appears to have been the object of his wishes. (4) This dignity, however, was granted him, upon condition of his paying 1000 *l.* yearly, out of the revenue of his see, to cardinal Pole; who complained that the temporalities of Canterbury were so ruined by his predecessor, that he could not live in a manner suitable to his rank. (5) He was chosen to speak the funeral oration of queen Mary, which he performed more to his credit as a scholar and christian preacher, than to his interest as a courtier; (6) as the event soon after declared.

The reign of queen Elizabeth, which commenced November 17, 1558, whatever may be said of it in other respects, was certainly prejudicial to the interests of this ancient city; inasmuch as its wealth and consequence were, at the period we are speaking of, inseperably connected with those of the national church. At first she seemed undetermined, whether to give the preference to the system of religion, which had prevailed under her brother

(1) Pitsius and Christopher Johnson. Wood says, "his fame and actions did well answer his name (White), and so did all men say, however contrary to him in religion."

(2) Richardson, on the authority of a MS. of Gale, asserts that he was dean of Winchester: but this is probably a mistake, as his name does not occur in Gale's catalogue of deans.

(3) Strype, Life of Cranmer.

(4) Godwin, De Præs.

(5) Wood. Dodd.

(6) Wood. Collier.

Edward, or to that of her sister Mary. It is certain that she had ever retained a strong predilection for many tenets and usages of the ancient church, (1) and was at great pains to have the ceremony of her coronation performed by a Catholic prelate; (2) but being sensible, on the other hand, that "her own legitimation, and the pope's supremacy, could not stand together;" after serious debates with her council, which she chose partly of Catholic and partly of Protestant members, (3) during which she prohibited all preaching, without a special license, (4) she finally determined in favour of the reformed system. In consequence of this resolution, a parliament was soon after held, which took upon itself to "unite and annex to the imperial crown of this realm all such jurisdictions.....spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority, hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, and schisms; &c." at the same time requiring all persons in offices, whether ecclesiastical or civil, to declare, upon oath, that "the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal, &c." (5) This act of parliament was conclusive, and

(1) "De cruce autem, Beatâ Virgine et sanctis haud quaquam contemptim sensit, nec de iis, sine quâdam reverentiâ, unquam locuta, nec alios loqui patienter audivit." Camden, Annal. Eliz. p. 24.—"Her own altar was furnished with rich plate, two fair gilt candlesticks with tapers in them, and a massie crucifix of silver in the midst of them. Which last remained there for several years, till it was broke in pieces by Patch, the fool; no wiser man daring to undertake such a desperate service, at the solicitation of sir F. Knolles. When one of her chaplains had spoken less reverently, in a sermon, of the sign of the cross, she called aloud to him, from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression, and to return unto his text; and on the other side, when one of her divines had preached a sermon in defence of the real presence, she openly gave him thanks for his pains and piety." Heylin, Qu. Eliz. p. 124.

(2) She was crowned according to the ordinal of the Roman pontifical, by Dr. Oglethorp, bishop of Carlisle, the only man amongst the bishops who could be wrought on by her to perform that office." Ibid, p. 106.

(3) Camden, Annal. Heylin.

(4) Camden, p. 23. Collier, p. 411.

(5) 1 Eliz. c. 1.

immediately produced the most important changes in this city and elsewhere; for it did not only exclude every degree of spiritual power in the pope, and in future general councils; but it also ascribed a more absolute authority, in matters of faith and discipline, to this princess, than had been exercised by the bishop of Rome, in the plenitude of his power. (1) Bishop

(1) To shew upon what grounds so many of the brighest ornaments of this city incurred the loss of their benefices, and some of them their liberty and lives, in opposition to this act of parliament; it is proper to observe, that the queen and her council, on every occasion, enforced it, and acted up to it, according to the strict tenor of its terms, which are seen above. By virtue of this act, the queen soon after proceeded, by her commissioners, to make an ecclesiastical visitation of the kingdom. The commissioners for the province of York, with whose names Collier, p. 435, acquaints us, were 14 noblemen or gentlemen, with only one divine, a private clergyman, amongst them. Of these any two even of the laymen, are authorized to visit all cathedrals, collegiate and parochial churches, and all degrees of the clergy, the bishops not excepted. They are empowered to examine them upon the articles of their belief, the qualifications of their learning, and their behaviour, as to morals; and, in case they find them defective, heterodox, or irregular, they are to proceed against them by imprisonment and ecclesiastical censures.....They are to give licences to preach to those whom they judge worthy, &c. Collier, Ecc. Hist. part II, p. 435. In conformity with the tenor of this act, archbishop Parker, in his homage to the queen, used the following words: "I acknowledge and confess to have and to hold the said archbishoprick of Canterbury, and the possessions of the same entirely, as well the spiritualities, as the temporalities, only of your majesty and the crown royal." The dispute, concerning the exercise of prophecying, (being a certain enthusiastic and popular mode of interpreting the scriptures) which took place in 1577 between Dr. Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, supported by most of the prelates, and by our bishop Horne in particular, on one hand, and by her majesty, on the other; proved the extent of the oath of supremacy, and that the whole constitution of the established church, with respect to faith as well as discipline, did in fact depend upon the judgment or pleasure of an individual female. This exercise of prophecying, whatever it might be, under certain regulations, was approved of by the archbishop, and the other prelates in general; nine of whose names he particularly quotes, as very beneficial both to individuals and to the church. He moreover declares, in his letter on this subject, to the lords of the star-chamber, that he "finds this exercise set down in the holy scriptures, and the use of the same to have continued in the primitive church." The queen, on the other hand, declares, in her orders to the bishops, that the said exercises "occasioned numbers to presume on the functions of preaching not lawfully called, produced new forms of worship, and disputations upon points of divinity, improper for a vulgar audience, and that they led many into schism." In a

White was the first victim to the oath of supremacy. He had given offence by the ardour with which he had extolled the deceased queen, in his funeral discourse upon her, and the frigid manner in which he spoke of the reigning queen. (1) He had incurred still greater displeasure by the vigour with which he defended the ancient faith in the public conferences, held between the Catholic and Protestant divines, in Westminster abbey; in

word, the bishops are "strictly commanded not to suffer any of these prophecyings in future." The order to the bishops concludes: "We charge you to be careful and vigilant, as by your negligence, &c. we be not forced to make some example in reforming you." It was vain for the bishops to resist, after the oath they had taken. Hence even Grindal acquaints her majesty, that "as she had forbidden the exercises of prophecying, he had suffered none of them in his diocese or peculiars." Collier, Ecc. Hist. part II, p. 554, 555, 559, 560, 579. Rec. No. 90.—Nothing however will give us a juster idea of the absolute authority and infallibility in religious matters, which Elizabeth attributed to herself, in virtue of her supremacy, than her speech to both houses of parliament, March 29, 1585, of which the following is an extract: "My lords, and ye of the lower house.....One matter toucheth me so neere, as I may not overskip: religion, the ground on which all other matters ought to take roote, and by being corrupted may mar all the tree: and that there be some fault finders with the order of the clergie, which so may make a slander to myself and the church, whose overlooker God hath made me, whose negligence cannot be excused, if any schisms or errors heretical were suffered. Thus much I must say, that some faults and negligences may grow and be, as in all other great changes it hapneth, and what vocation without? All which, if you, my lords of the clergie, do not amend, I mind to depose you, looke you therefore well to your charges.....I am supposed to have many studies, but most philosophical. I must yeild this to be true, that I suppose few that be not professors have read more: and I need not tell you that I am so simple that I understand not, nor so forgetful that I remember not: and yet amongst my many volumns, I hope Gods boke hath not been my seldomest lecture.....I see many overbold with God Almighty, making too many subtil scannings of his holy will, as lawyers do with human testaments: the presumption is so great as I may not suffer it (yet minde I do not hereby animate Romanists, which what enemies they be to mine estate is sufficiently knowne) nor tolerate new fangllednesse. I mean to guide them both by Gods true rule," &c.—The intelligent reader will smile at the vanity of this princess, and the exclusive right, which she claims, to understand the scriptures, and interpret them to her subjects: but what part was a conscientious Christian to take, when he was called upon, as the above-mentioned clergy of Winchester were, to sanction all this extravagance by their solemn oaths?

(1) Ant. Wood. Godwin.

which he is said to have threatened the queen with excommunication.(1) Hence he, and Watson bishop of Lincoln, had been committed prisoners to the Tower.(2) But now having refused to take the proposed oath, as his brethren likewise did in general; (3) he was in the month of June, 1559, declared to have forfeited his bishopric, which was kept a long time vacant, for purposes that will afterwards appear. The clergy in general were of the same sentiments with the bishops; as was manifest, both by their articles in the convocation, (4) and by the language of the universities: (5) but they did not, at the time of trial, display the same firmness in suffering, in defence of their conscientious opinions, which their superiors, the bishops, had done. (6) It is true, however, that a greater proportion of the dignitaries of this cathedral, and of the masters and fellows of the college in this city, and of Winchester college in Oxford, (7) made the sacrifice in question; than of any other cathedral, or learned society in England. Of these we have been able to recover the names of the following persons, who were deprived of their livings at this time, for refusing the oath of supremacy:— Edmund Steward, D.D. dean of the cathedral; (8) Thomas Harding, D.D. the famous antagonist of bishop Jewel, who had been brought up in the college of this city, and afterwards became fellow of New College and prebendary of the cathedral; (8) Peter Langrish, graduate of Oxford, and

(1) Heylin. (2) April 5. Stow.

(3) All the bishops refused the oath of supremacy, except Antony Kitchen of Landaff, who, as Heylin says, "in a quibbling strain, having formerly submitted unto every change, resolved to shew himself no changling now."—"Omnes qui tunc sederunt jurare abnuerunt præter unum Antonium Landavensem, sedis suæ calamitatem." Camden, Annal. p. 36.

(4) Heylin, p. 113. Collier.

(5) See Jewel's Letter to Bullinger, written at this period, in which he complains that there are not above two divines of their sentiment in all the university of Oxford. Coll. p. 432.

(6) In addition to the 14 bishops, there were only 80 rectors of parishes, 50 prebendaries, 15 heads of colleges, 12 archdeacons, 12 deans, and six abbots or abbesses, who were turned out of their offices for refusing the oath. Camden, Annal.

(7) Ant. Wood, Antiq. Oxon. counts not less than 23 fellows of New College, who refused the oath.

(8) Wood. Dr. Bridgwater ap. Dodd. (9) Ant. Wood.

prebendary of the cathedral: (1) Thomas Martin, LL.D. fellow of New College, and chancellor of the diocese of Winchester; (2) Thomas Hyde, D.D. of an ancient family of that name, near Newbury, who had studied at both Wykeham's colleges, and was now head master of the one in this city, as also prebendary of the cathedral; (3) John Marshall, or Martial, LL.B. fellow of New College, and second master of the school here; (4) Edmund Marvyn, A.M. of C. C. prebendary of Winchester cathedral, and archdeacon of Surry. (5) Richard Martial, dean of Christchurch, Oxford, was another prebendary of this cathedral, who lost his preferments for refusing the oath; though afterwards, being seized upon and conveyed to London, he was induced to take it, in hopes of recovering his deanery. (6)

The clergy, in general, who succeeded those displaced, were, according to the character given of them by unprejudiced historians, but ill qualified to repair the loss which the public had suffered in the former. (7) With respect to bishop White, he had been detained in prison, after the other

(1) Dodd.

(2) He wrote different works against Dr. Poynet, as also the Life of William of Wykeham, which Dr. Lowth frequently quotes. Ant. Wood

(3) Ant. Wood, who gives a high character of his merit.

(4) Ibid. (5) Ant. Wood, Fasti Oxon.

(6) Ibid.—Other persons of note, connected with this city by their preferments, residence, or education, who lost their benefices for refusing to acknowledge queen Elizabeth's spiritual supremacy, were, Dr. John Boxal, late warden of the college, then dean of Windsor; Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, the learned writer of the Ecclesiastical History, archdeacon of Canterbury; Dr. John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London; Dr. John Pitsius, author of the work *De Illust. Ang. Scrip.* Dr. William Reynolds, the learned controvertist; Dr. Saunders, author of the Visibilis Monarchia & De Schism. Anglic. Dr. Thomas Stapleton, one of the most learned and voluminous writers of his age; Dr. Lewis Owen, P. J. Can. the great friend of Cardinal Allen; Richard White, of Basingstoke, a learned antiquary and writer; Robert Poyntz, John Mundyn, &c.

(7) Collier says, "Upon the Catholic clergy throwing up their preferments, some mechanics were admitted into orders. The disadvantage of this expedient was soon observed: the ignorance and improper behaviour of these men made them disregarded." Part. II. p. 465. Wood gives a lamentable account of the situation of his university on this occasion. Athen. Oxon. passim.

bishops were discharged; however, his health declining, he was at length permitted to retire to his sister's house at South Warnborough, near the place of his nativity, where he died Jan. 11, 1560. (1) Though, in common with the other bishops, he had been denied during his life time the privilege of practising his religion, even in private; (2) yet no opposition was made to his being interred in the cathedral, according to the tenor of his last will, now that he was dead. (3)

The next bishop of this see was Robert Horne, a Protestant divine of great talents, who distinguished himself by his controversial writings, and by the voluntary exile which he suffered during the late reign. He had been dean of Durham under Edward VI. and was consecrated bishop of Winchester, Feb. 16, 1560. (4) Previously, however, to this ceremony, the court had taken certain measures, which placed this see in a very different situation from that in which bishop White had left it. In the first place, an act of parliament was obtained to strip it a second time of all the possessions, which had been alienated in Edward's reign, and recovered in that of Mary. (5) Besides this, a general act was procured, empowering the queen, on the vacancy of any bishopric or archbishopric, to issue a commission for surveying the castles, manors, and lands belonging to it, and to take into her hands such of them as to her should seem good; giving in exchange impropriations and tithes to the same amount. (6) This compensation is represented as a mere illusion, (7) and compared with Diomed's exchange of brazen armour for armour of gold.

It was to afford leisure for the "queen and her courtiers to take such advantage of this act, as redounded most to their profit, and to cull the best flowers out of the whole garden of the church," (8) that the different sees, and our's in particular, were kept for a certain time vacant. There was, however, a particular clause in the act, by which the said ecclesiastical

(1) Athen. Oxon. (2) Camden, Annal. p. 40. (3) Athen. Oxon.
(4) Godwin. (5) Collier, p. 430. (6) 1 Eliz. c. 4.
(7) Even Burnet calls this "an act for robbing the church without enriching the crown."
(8) Heylin, Hist. Qu. Eliz. p. 120, 121.

possessions were liable to as great dilapidations when they were full, as when they were vacant. By this clause, bishops were forbidden to make leases for more than 21 years, or three lives, "except to the queen," and under that pretence to any of her hungry courtiers; (1) to whom they might be granted for 99 years, or in fee farm. By virtue of this clause, we are assured, that "many goodly manors were alienated for ever from the see of Winchester," as well as from other sees; (2) which proves that bishop Horne was a party to these dilapidations. The appointment of a prelate of his character, was certainly a calamity to the city, as well as to the bishopric. He had been noted at Durham for the devastations which he had committed; and he is described as "a man that could never abide any ancient monument, acts or deeds, that gave any light of or to godly religion." (3) Hence there is every reason to ascribe to his blind zeal the havock which we discover to have been made about this time in our city, and particularly in the cathedral. Not content with removing or defacing the roods or crucifixes, with such other images or paintings, as were particularly obnoxious; (4) for doing which there was a plea, from the late published articles; (5) it appears that he also destroyed the numerous statues and chapels which adorned our cathedral, though these have been left standing in so many other churches. The venerable chapter-house also and cloysters, part of which were the work of Wykeham, were pulled down in this episcopacy, to the defacing of the city, and weakening of the church itself; (6) whilst so many other cathedrals have the same curious and venerable monuments still to boast of. It is true, there were different ordinances published in this reign, (7)

(1) Heylin, Hist. Qu. Eliz. (2) Ibid. (3) Athen. Oxon.

(4) Such as the paintings, which are once more brought to light, in the Lady Chapel of the cathedral. See our Survey. (5) Heylin, p. 117.

(6) This destruction took place in 1570; at which time it appears, by certain authentic MSS. which we have seen, that great quantities of lead were publicly carried away from the cathedral.

(7) Viz. 1560. Collier. 1572, Stow.—Collier, speaking of the devastations and sacrileges carried on at this period, viz. 1561, to which the people were excited by "certain public incendiaries," thus expresses himself: "to see noble structures, consecrated to the honour

to prevent such plunder of lead or bells, as likewise the defacing of monuments, and other violences, which were then frequently practised, not only by inferior persons, but, as it is insinuated, by bishops themselves; but our prelate either evaded these proclamations, or he was permitted, by such means, to indemnify himself for the property of his bishopric, which he had conveyed away to the courtiers. By all these measures was our ancient city defaced in its external appearance, and impoverished; those veins of wealth, which had heretofore circulated in it, and proved its chief support, being now in a great measure dried up, or diverted elsewhere. What added, in some degree, to this distress, was, that the queen, who threw every obstacle she could in the way of the clergy's marrying, (1) had now issued an injunction, which she caused to be inserted in the constitutions and foundation deeds of all cathedrals and colleges, prohibiting all and every clergyman belonging to them from admitting any woman whomsoever within their precincts, under the penalty of forfeiting all ecclesiastical preferment. (2) One effect of this injunction, as archbishop Parker proved, in his letter to the secretary of state, was to banish all hospitality out of the houses of church dignitaries, (3) to the great detriment of trade in the places where they resided.

of the ever blessed Trinity, where all the articles of the apostles' creed were professed.... thus ravaged and razed, the holy furniture made plunder, and the church estates seized, gives a frightful idea of some of the reformers." Part II, p. 471.

(1) By the injunctions, published at the beginning of her reign, clergymen desirous of entering into the state of matrimony, were subjected to certain declarations and ceremonies, too disgraceful to be mentioned. See Collier's Hist. and Moral Essays.—The queen's insulting behaviour to archbishop Parker's wife is well known. See Elizabeth's Progresses, by Nichols, ann. 1573.—She had already defeated a bill, brought into parliament in favour of the married clergy of Edward's reign; and Cecil takes to himself the merit of having prevented a bill from being introduced, absolutely interdicting such marriages in future. It is proper to add, that the preamble to the first act of parliament, which gives permission to the clergy to marry, states, that "it were not only better for the estimation of priests and other ministers to live chaste, sole and separate from the company of women and the bond of marriage; but also thereby they might the better intend to the administration of the gospel, and be less intricated and troubled with the charge of household," &c. 2 Edw. VI. c. 21.

(2) Collier, Ecc. Hist. part II, p. 472. Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker.

(3) Collier, p. 473.

Owing chiefly to these causes, Winchester, about the middle of this reign, as its most authentic records state, was fallen "into great ruin, decay, and poverty." (1) The musters of able men taken at this time, afford a melancholy proof of its decayed state. This city, which could once pour out a whole army at its gates, now was only capable of furnishing ninety men, fit to bear arms; whilst Southampton, a place never of great extent or population, was able to supply 490 men of that description. (2) There is reason to believe, that the magistrates and other citizens were watching anxiously for any opportunity that might offer, to obtain such assistance and benefits, as it was in the power of the crown to bestow, in order to alleviate their calamity; but, in truth, Elizabeth shewed no great partiality for Winchester. She was more delighted with the pageants, exhibited in her honour, and the idolatry that was paid her at Basing, Cowdry, and Elvetham, (3) than in surveying the monuments of her religious ancestors, which this city had to exhibit, and the sacred ruins which she had contributed to increase. In the first considerable progress which the queen made after coming to the crown, namely, in 1560, she visited this city, (4) but without leaving any marks of her beneficence, that we are able to discover; and ever after, in her several western expeditions and visits to different seats of the nobility and places in this county, Elizabeth seemed purposely to avoid this city, though here she had a royal residence, and it had been the favourite seat of so many of her predecessors. (5) In these circumstances, the citizens were fortunate enough to make a friend of sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state; who condescended to add to his other titles that of high steward of Win-

(1) Queen Elizabeth's charter.

(2) See Ordinances of the Royal Household, published by the Society of Antiquaries.

(3) See Queen Elizabeth's Progresses, 2 vols. by J. Nichols. (4) Ibid, vol. 1.

(5) Warton, in his Description of Winchester, p. 22, seems to say, that Elizabeth was there some time before the charter was granted. No such visit, however, as this has been discovered by Nichols, who has been indefatigable in his researches concerning the journies of this queen. A conjecture indeed may arise of her having been in this city in 1570, as it appears that money was then distributed at the college to her minstrels and players. This, however, alone, is not a sufficient proof of the fact.

chester. (1) At length, through his means, in 1587, they succeeded in obtaining an ample charter; which, being the last of its kind that has been granted them, is the same by which, at the present day, they profess to be governed, and to hold their privileges.

This charter is expressly stated to be granted at the suit of sir Francis Walsingham; and "in consideration of the city of Winchester having been most famous for the celebration of the nativities, coronations, sepulchres, and for the preservation of other famous monuments of the queen's progenitors." (2) By the tenor of this charter, Winchester is declared to be a corporation of itself and a free city, under a mayor, a recorder, six aldermen, a town clerk, two coroners, two constables, and a council of 21 of the better, discreeter, and more respectable citizens. The mayor, recorder, and aldermen, are appointed justices of the peace for the city, with the usual power and privileges of that office, and the city is exempted from the jurisdiction of the county magistrates. The markets are ordered to be held on the Wednesday and Saturday in each week, and the three usual fairs are sanctioned, one on the feast of St. Edward the Confessor, and the eve and morrow of the same day, being the 24th, 25th, and 26th of October N.S; a second on the Monday and Tuesday, in the first week of Lent; and the third on the feast of St. Swithun, and the eve and morrow of the same, being the 26th, 27th, and 28th of July, N.S. (3) The citizens are acquitted from all suits of the county, likewise from all tolls, pontage, &c. from which they had heretofore been exempt. The mayor is appointed clerk of the markets, with power to make the assizes of bread, wine, and other victuals. The said mayor, &c. are authorised to take recognizance of debts, and make execution thereon within the city; likewise to erect companies of the different trades or occupations, then exercised, or afterwards to be exercised, in this city or suburbs. Moreover, to sustain the charges of the city, and for the relief of the poor inhabitants, they have permission to

(1) Elizabeth's charter. (2) Ibid.

(3) This fair is no longer kept up, on account of the great fair of Magdalen-hill, which commences only five days afterwards.

make broad cloths and kerseys. The corporation is also authorised to possess any houses, lands, &c. which they may be enabled to acquire by gift, legacy, or purchase, within the city or suburbs. Finally, all former rights and privileges, those especially which had been granted by the late king and queen, Philip and Mary, are confirmed to the city; particularly the guardianship of the hospital of St. John, originally founded by John Devenish, and since refounded by Richard Lamb, and the difficulties concerning its name and title are done away. The only article in this charter which appears to be new, or which seemed to promise any redress of the evil complained of, viz. the *ruin*, *decay*, *and poverty*, into which the city is stated to have fallen, was that relating to the woollen manufactory; for carrying on which it has several advantages, and by which, as we have seen at different periods, it has acquired wealth and splendour. But to give efficacy to this clause, not a bare permission to make broad cloths and kerseys, but rather a wise and comprehensive arrangement, together with substantial assistance at the beginning, to set the machine in action, was requisite. Nothing of this sort was then done; and our city has continued ever since destitute of a manufactory, and of course indigent. Amongst the ancient privileges of Winchester, which had been confirmed in general terms by the late charter, was that of keeping the standard weights and measures; accordingly, the next year, viz. 1588, it received a new set of these, marked with the arms and name of the queen, (1) and in the ensuing year, 1589, it was further honoured with the gift of a new seal. (2)

(1) See our Miscellaneous Plate, Nos. 8, 9, 10, 22. These are engraved as specimens: there are other articles, for which there was not sufficient room in the plate. The last of these, No. 22, which is a yard, bears the marks of Henry VII. at one end, and those of Elizabeth, on a piece let into it, at the other end: This circumstance renders it doubtful whether the length of the yard was not altered at this period.

(2) See our Miscellaneous Plate, No. 13. The face consists of an ancient square castle, with the date and the letters A V G, in the exergue; the incription round it, † SIGILL :: CIVIT. :: INION :: GNSIVT. The reverse is a cross patee, with the date; the inscription, CONFIRMATIO SITIS; the latter word being the same, when read either backwards or forwards. There is evidently some anagram, or other riddle, in both inscrip-



1 West View of the City Crofs, in its original ſtate, 46 feet high.

1 2 *Medallion of Julius Cæsar, dug up near Winchester, 3 inches & ½ diam^r.* — 3 *Specimen of Urns, dug up in Hide-Street.* — 4 *Urn dug up in Water Lane.* — 5 *Arthurs round Table 18 feet diam^r. suspended in the County Hall.* — 6 *The ſtandard Buſhel of King Edgar, kept in the Town Hall.* — 7 *Ditto of Henry the ſeventh in the town Hall.* — 8 *Gallon of Ditto.* — 9 *Standard Quart of Eliz^th.* — 10 *Standard weight or ditto.* — 11 *Weight of the reign of Edward the third.* — 12 *City Seal given by Edward the firſt, real ſize.* — 13 *Fine Creveuse of ditto, given by Eliz^th half the ſize.* — 14 *Ancient Arms of Winchester, according to Guillim.* — 15 *Stone with the Inſcription of Alfred, from Hyde Abbey.* — 16,17 *Specimens of Chalices and Rings, dug up at Hyde Abbey.* — 18 *Ancient Font in the Cathedral.* — 19 *South front of Ditto.* — 20 *West front of Ditto.*

If this city could contribute but little, as we have seen, to the success of her Majesty's arms; yet it was amongst the foremost to celebrate those signal victories and other fortunate events which distinguished this reign, and have rendered it so popular. For this it was indebted to the talents of the students of the college. Upon the return of the celebrated Drake from his voyage round the world, in the year 1580, when the ship in which he made his voyage, being drawn ashore at Deptford, and decorated in the most splendid manner possible, was visited, with a kind of religious veneration, by all ranks of people, and by the queen herself, who dined and knighted its fortunate captain on board of it. (1) Amongst other honours paid to this new *Argo*, verses, written by the ablest poets, were affixed to its mast. (2) The palm of merit, on this occasion, was adjudged to the scholars of Winchester, and accordingly their epigrams have been transmitted to us by one of the most learned men of his age. (3) Only one distich of these having been published to the present age, and that incorrectly; (4) we shall therefore give the whole of them, as they stand in the contemporary writer above alluded to:—

PLUS ULTRA, Herculeis inscribas DRACE columnis,
Et magno, dicas, Hercule major ero. (5)

DRACE, pererrati quem novit terminus orbis,
Quemque simul mundi vidit uterque polus,

tions, which we leave to the investigation of those who are curious in such matters.—Warton says, that the weights and measures were given at the same time with the charter, (see his Description, p. 33); and yet they bear, upon their faces, different dates—the charter 1587; the weights, &c. 1588; the seal 1589.—The blunders of Anonymous, in speaking of the whole transaction, are too gross and too numerous to be here insisted upon. Hist. of Win. p. 99, 117.

(1) Camden, Annal. Eliz. Stow's Annals, A. D. 1580. (2) Camden. (3) Idem.

(4) The last word in the first couplet, stands in the Anonymous History *era*, instead of *ero*, or *ego*, which is another reading of it. See Camden's Remains. He calls this also elegiac measure, or alternate hexameters and pentameters, "a particular kind of heroic verse." P. 98.

(5) In vain the proud Herculean pillars stand,
Whilst Drake PLUS ULTRA graves on Calpe's strand.

Si taceant homines, facient te sidera notum:
Sol nescit comitis non memor esse sui. (1)

Digna ratis, quæ stet radiantibus undique stellis;
Supremo cœli vertice digna ratis. (2.)

We left bishop Horne in possession of the mitre of this city. He seems not to have possessed a greater share of toleration than was usual in that age. The severity of the laws, at the first establishment of the church of England, was extended not only to the Catholics, but also to the Dissenters. We do not indeed find any capital punishments inflicted on the latter in this city, as they were in the metropolis; (3) but we discover some of their leading ministers, about the present time, to have been sent to bishop Horne, to be confined; (4) which seems to argue, that he was one of the most rigid and severe prelates against these national schismatics. It was chiefly, however, in his behaviour to his old antagonist Bonner, in the year 1563, that this vindictive and intolerant spirit appeared, which aimed at revenging the blood of the Protestants, put to death in the former reign, upon him who was considered as the principal author of that calamity. Bonner continued

(1) Should men, O Drake, ungrateful to thy fame,
Neglect thy wond'rous voyage to proclaim,
The conscious sun thy praises will rehearse,
The sun, companion of thy circling course.

(2) Let Argo, now eclips'd, the sky forsake,
And brighter stars adorn the ship of Drake.

(3) In 1575, several Dutch Anabaptists, flying from persecution in their own country to London, found themselves there in a still worse situation than they had been at home. Two of them were actually burnt for heresy in Smithfield: on which occasion the bishop of London, by order of Queen Elizabeth, published a book to prove the lawfulness of putting heretics to death. See Gerard Brand's Hist. Ref. Pays Bas, vol. 1, p. 234. Stow, ann. 1575.—In June 1583, Elias Thacker and John Copping were hanged at Bury, "for spreading certain books, seditiously penned by one Robert Browne against the book of Common Prayer." Stow, Annals.—These were followed by Barrow, Greenwood, Penry, and other Independants or Anabaptists.

(4) Collier, p. 507.

at this time a prisoner in the Marshalsea, into which he had been cast, after losing his see for refusing the oath of supremacy. This being situated in Surry, and within the diocese of Winchester, Horne, in quality of his diocesan, once more tendered to Bonner the said oath; the refusal of which, on the third tender, was construed into high treason. The latter being indicted for his recusancy, confessed the fact, but traversed the indictment. The main stress of his argument was, that Horne, who had offered him the oath in his episcopal quality, was not actually a bishop according to law. In fact, he had been consecrated according to the new ritual of Edward VI. which having been abrogated by an act of the last reign, had never been restored in the present reign. (1) The conclusion of the business was, that an act of parliament was now brought in to legalize all such ordinations; declaring the defect in question to be a *casus omissus*. (2) On the other hand, Bonner was left to die quietly in prison, (3) instead of dying at the gallows. Horne, in his turn, paid the debt of nature in 1580, at the episcopal palace in Southwark, and was brought to this cathedral for interment, where he was deposited, near the west end of bishop Edington's tomb. (4)

Soon after bishop Horne's death, the queen "committed the charge of this church" (5) to John Watson, M.D. He was educated to the study of physic, in which he had considerable practice, (6) until the beginning of the present reign; when, many laymen being ordained to supply the places of the ejected Catholic clergy, Dr. Watson enlisted under the banner of the church, and took orders. (7) He was a great favourite at court, and was promoted to many great benefices; being successively made prebendary of Winchester, archdeacon of Surry, chancellor of St. Paul's, (8) master of St. Cross, (9) dean of this cathedral, and at length bishop of the diocese, to which he was consecrated Sept. 18, 1580. He died at his palace of Wolvesey, in this city, (10) Jan. 23, 1583, and was buried in the nave of the

(1) Collier, p. 492. (2) Heylin, p. 171. (3) Athen. Oxon.
(4) Godwin. i. e. "prope pulpitum." (5) Godwin. (6) Ant. Wood.
(7) Wood says he took orders at that time, "if not haply before." (8) Idem.
(9) Richardson, ex MS. (10) Stow.

cathedral, as his predecessor had been, leaving several benefactions to the university of Oxford, and to the poor of his native town of Evesham; one of which deserves to be recorded and imitated, namely, he gave 40*l.* to set the said poor to work. (1) Dr. Thomas Cooper, who next succeeded to this see, like his predecessor, had practised and taken degrees in medicine (2) during the late reign, but returned to the more profitable study of divinity, at the accession of Elizabeth. What first recommended him to the notice of this princess, was a Latin Dictionary, which he published, under the title of *Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ*, probably whilst he taught a grammar school at Oxford. (3) His first promotion was to the deanery of Christchurch, his second to the bishopric of Lincoln, and his third to this diocese, where he remained stationary, until he was removed by death. This change took place April 29, 1594, when he was interred near the episcopal throne, and a copious epitaph, partly in prose and partly in verse, was inscribed on his tomb; (4) which probably was defaced at the new paving of the choir. Winchester now beheld a second William Wickham on her episcopal throne. He had succeeded Cooper in the see of Lincoln, and at present followed him to that of Winchester. Here, however, he had neither the means nor the leisure to copy the beneficent deeds of his great predecessor and namesake; dying of the stone and disury in less than ten weeks after his translation, at his house in Southwark, and was buried in the adjoining church of St. Mary Overy. (5) During this short period, however, he found means, as he possessed the courage, to tell the queen, in a public sermon, an important truth which concerned the interests of this city; viz. that if the see of Winchester were to suffer as much rapine, during the ensuing thirty years, as it had suffered in the preceding thirty, (that is to say, since the early part of her reign) there would not be left sufficient annual income to keep on the roof of the cathedral church. (6) William Day, S. T. B. dean of Windsor and provost of Eton, next succeeded. He

(1) Athen. Oxon. (2) M. B. Athen. Oxon. Fasti Oxon. (3) Godwin.
(4) See Richardson, ap. Godwin. (5) See his epitaph, in Stow's Survey of London.
(6) Collier, Ecc. Hist. part II, p. 670.

was brother to that George Day, who had died bishop of Chichester in the former reign, (1) and who had attended Philip and Mary, in their visit to the college of this city, as we have mentioned before. The present episcopacy, like the preceding, was chiefly distinguished by its shortness, concluding in the space of nine months, by the death of the incumbent. This event made place for the promotion of Dr. Thomas Bilson, a native of this city, and successively student, master, and warden of the college here; besides being fellow of New College, and prebendary of the cathedral. (2) In 1596, he became bishop of Worcester, and thence was translated, the following year, to this city. The high idea which the queen entertained of his talents and learning, caused him to be chosen into the privy council. She over rated these, however, when she employed him to write a work, which should justify her in her usual practice of raising commotions and rebellions in all the neighbouring states, as in Scotland, France, and particularly in the Low Countries; (3) yet so to allow no pretext for resistance, in any case whatsoever, to her own subjects against herself. Such was the plan of bishop Bilson's famous treatise, entitled, *The true Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion.* "This book," says a learned author, "served the queen's designs for the present, but did much contribute to the ruin of her successor Charles I. For there is not any book that the Presbyterians have made more dangerous use of against their prince, than that which his predecessor commanded to be written to justify her against the king of Spain." (4)

Having reported the persecution carried on by Catholics against Protestants in the reign of Mary, as far as concerns this city; it is requisite, for the truth of history, to say something of that which the latter raised against the former during the reign of Elizabeth and the Stewarts. There is the greater reason for this, as the fact is generally unknown, and as a right understanding and balancing of accounts in this matter, may contribute

(1) Wood. (2) Wood. Godwin.

(3) "It was written to put the best colour on the Dutch revolt," says Collier, p. 707.

(4) Ant. Wood.

to cut off one of the most virulent sources of religious animosity, and dispose Christians of different communions to forgive each other the faults of their predecessors.

It was not until the year 1583, that any capital punishment took place in this city or neighbourhood, on the score of religion. Some lighter penalties indeed had been inflicted; and, in particular, certain poor Catholics, who were unable to pay the heavy fine imposed upon them for neglecting to attend the public service of the church, which was no less than 20*l.* each, for every month that they had been so absent, (1) had been publicly whipped through the city; (2) but, upon the translation of bishop Cooper to this see, persecution began to take a more severe form. Through his means, two Catholic schoolmasters were apprehended, who, refusing to take the oath of the queen's supremacy, were condemned and executed as guilty of high treason. The name of the first of these was John Slade, a Dorsetshire man, who had applied himself to the study of the canon and civil laws in the university of Douay, but without taking orders; and who, returning home, followed the profession of a schoolmaster in this city. The name of the other was John Bodie, of a creditable family in the city of Wells, and a Wykehamist, being master of arts, if not fellow of New College. (3) He too had applied himself to the study of the canon and civil law; but not being able to advance himself by this knowledge, on account of his religion, he seems to have kept a school in the country between Winchester and Andover. What is certain is, that they were both tried together at Winchester, and condemned, on the sole indictment of denying the queen's spiritual supremacy, and asserting the supremacy of the pope; and (what was ascribed to the perturbation of the judge's mind at being made an instrument of persecution) the same sentence of death was pronounced upon them two separate times. (4) John Slade was drawn,

(1) 23d Eliz. c. 1. (2) Rishton, De Schism. Ang. p. 234.

(3) Ant. Wood, Fasti Oxon. makes him N. C. S. and a priest. But he mentions other persons of the same name, and owns himself at a loss to distinguish them. Hence his account must give place to that of Stow, Rishton, and other writers.

(4) Rishton, De Schism. p. 324.

hanged, bowelled, and quartered, at Winchester, October 30; John Bodie suffered the same cruel death, at Andover, November 2, 1583.(1) The latter being called upon, at the place of execution, by a gentleman of the neighbourhood, Mr. Kingsmill, to confess his crime, that the people might know the cause for which he died; he made a profession of his obedience and fidelity to the queen, in all temporal matters, and then added: "be it known to you all that I suffer death this day, because I deny the queen to be the supreme head of the church of Christ in England. I never committed any other treason." (2) The following year another Wykehamist, who appears to have been a resident in this city, suffered death at Tyburn, in the same cause. This was John Mundyn, fellow of New College, from which being ejected by Horne, bishop of Winchester, in 1566, (3) on account of his religion, he went abroad to Douay, and there was ordained priest. Travelling on horseback upon some business from this city to London, (4) he was stopped on Hounslow-heath by one Hammond, a lawyer; who knowing him to be a priest, obliged him to return with him as far as Staines, where he delivered him up to certain justices of the peace, by whom he was sent prisoner to London. Here, examined by sir Francis Walsingham, he acknowledged queen Elizabeth to be the true queen of England; but being required to declare whether she was queen *de jure* as well as *de facto*, and hesitating to answer this very intricate question, the secretary of state gave him such a blow on the ear, as made him reel, and stunned him for several days afterwards. (5) He was then confined in the Tower, and treated with great rigour during the space of a twelve month. At length, he was tried and cast, with four other priests, at Westminster-hall, "as guilty of high treason, for having been made priest

(1) Stow's Annals.

(2) Memoirs of Missionary Priests, by the late R. R. Richard Challoner, D.D. Episc. Deboren, vol. i. p. 136, who quotes the MS. of Douay college, and a printed account, by R. Jones, a Protestant eye witness, published in London in the same year.

(3) Athen. Oxon.

(4) Mem. Miss. Pr. from Wood, Dr. Bridgewater's Concertatio & MSS. Duac. (5) Ibid.

beyond the seas, and by the pope's authority, since a statute made in the first year of her majesty's reign; and had judgment to be hanged, bowelled, and quartered."(1) This sentence was accordingly executed five days afterwards, viz. Feb. 12, 1584.—Two years later, two priests of Douay, Robert Anderton and William Marsden, bound from a port in France to some part of England, were forced, by stress of weather, to land in the Isle of Wight; where, their character being discovered, they were apprehended and sent to Winchester, to be confined and tried at the ensuing Lent assizes. The judge, pitying their case, and being desirous of their acquittal, suggested to them the following plea:—"I suppose, gentlemen," said he, "you embarked not with a design of coming into England, but of going into Scotland, and that you were driven into England by the storm, against your will: tell me, is not this the truth?" "God forbid," said they, "my lord, that we should tell a lie for the matter. Our lives would be a burden to us, if we should save them by an untruth. We were sent hither to preach the truth, and we must not, at our first setting out, give into a lie. The truth is, we are both priests, and we set out with a design of coming to England, to reconcile the souls of our neighbours to God and his church. If we are not suffered to serve our neighbours souls, we will take care not to hurt our own." "Nay then," said the judge, "the Lord have mercy upon you; for, by the laws, you are dead men." Sentence was accordingly pronounced upon them, and they suffered the usual punishment with constancy and intrepidity. (2) They were executed in the Isle of Wight, where they had been apprehended, April 25, 1586.—In the same year another priest, by name John Adams, was apprehended at Winchester, though he was tried and executed in London, merely for executing his sacerdotal functions. He suffered October 8, 1586.(3)—In 1591 two other persons suffered the death of traitors in this city, for adhering to the ancient faith of its Swithuns and Wykehams. These were Roger

(1) Stow's Annals. (2) Letter of Hen. Holland, S. T. L. author of Urna Aurea. Diar. Duac, &c. Append. Miss. vol. 1. (3) Mem. Miss. Pr.

Dickonson, a priest of Rheims, who exercised his missionary labours in the neighbourhood of Winchester; and Ralph Milner, a poor but honest and moral man, having a wife and seven children, who resided in the neighbourhood of Winchester. The former was condemned and executed in this city, merely on account of his priestly character; (1) and having been sent up to London, where he underwent the tortures which were then so frequently practised upon the Catholics in the prisons there. (2) The latter was condemned for being aiding and assisting to the aforesaid priest. The judge humanely offered him his life, if he would but once attend the service of the established church, but he refused the condition. At the place of execution, in this city, his seven children were brought to him, that the sight of them might melt his constancy. But instead of yielding to the suggestions of nature, he deliberately gave them his last blessing, and declared that he could wish them no greater happiness than to die in the same cause in which he was about to shed his blood. (3) The two sufferers met their fate July 7, 1591.—At the same assizes were also condemned to death seven single ladies of this city or neighbourhood, whose houses the above-mentioned priest had frequented, and to whom he had administered the rites of his religion. The judge thought to terrify them by pronouncing the sentence of the law; but, on the contrary, they were filled with joy on the occasion, and afterwards burst into tears, when he gave them a reprieve, declaring it to be their earnest desire to die with their pastor, having, as they said, shared in his supposed guilt. (4)—The last whom we have dis-

(1) Diar. Duac. MSS. Dr. Champ.

(2) MSS. Audomar. R. P. Thomæ Stanney, an intimate friend of these sufferers. In Diar. Rerum Gestarum in Turri Lond. written by Rushton, an eye-witness and fellow sufferer, we have a description of seven different kinds of torture, used in the Tower, upon Catholic prisoners, and of those persons on whom they were inflicted. The general use of the torture was afterwards discontinued, by order of the queen. See also cardinal Allen's Answer to lord Burghley's Execution of Justice.—The torture was, however, occasionally used in England till the time of James I. See Archæologia, vol. x.

(3) MS. Stanney. Ibid.

(4) MSS. Ant. Champney, S. T. D. Ribadineira. Mem. Miss.—The cause of another Ca-

covered to have actually suffered here, on the penal statutes in the present reign, was James Bird, of a genteel family, which had furnished several magistrates to this city. Becoming a convert to the Catholic faith, at an early period of life, he went abroad for education to the college at Rheims; there being no means of education left for persons of that communion in England. On his return, he was apprehended, tried, and condemned for the fact of having made himself a Catholic, and for maintaining the pope to be the head of the church. His life and liberty were offered him, as they had been to Ralph Milner, if he would only once attend the Protestant service. When his father entreated him to accept the offer, he answered, that as he always had been, so he always would be obedient to his commands, except where they interfered with his duty to God. Continuing in this resolution, he was, after a long imprisonment, hanged, bowelled, and quartered in this city, March 25, 1593; being then no more than nineteen years of age. His head was set on a pole, over one of the city gates; the sight of which so effected his father, as to draw from him exclamations, which, in those days of terror, were dangerous even in the mouth of a conformist. (1)

tholic, who suffered death in the course of this year at Winchester, is of a more doubtful nature, and therefore his name is not mentioned above. This was Laurence Humphreys, a young layman, of the age of 21, who in the delirium of a violent fever called the queen a heretic and other injurious names. Being indicted for these words, he called God to witness that he could not remember having uttered them; nevertheless, says he, "as divers witnesses affirm the fact, I will not deny it, but shall willingly suffer the punishment that may be inflicted upon me on that account." He was accordingly condemned and executed, in this city, some time in 1591.

(1) Bishop of Chalcedon's Catalogue. Dr. Champney's MSS. Mêm. Miss. Pr.—Other persons residing in the neighbourhood of this city, who suffered death in the reign of Elizabeth on the penal statutes, were, 1st. Swithun Wells, of the ancient family of that name, settled at Brambridge, near Winchester, but descended from the noble family of Lincolnshire, so famous in the time of the Plantagenets, to whom it was allied. He was executed in London, in 1591, for having had mass said in his house, together with the whole congregation, consisting of seven persons, excepting Mrs. Wells, who was condemned, but left to die in

We must not omit to mention another kind of religious persecution, by which many innocent persons lost their lives in this and the following reigns; though it did not extend to that fatal extremity with respect to its victims in this city. In 1559, the articles of visitation, which archbishop Cranmer had issued ten years before, for discovering all persons "who used charms, sorcery, enchantments, witchcraft, soothsaying, or any like craft,"

prison. 2dly. Two persons of the ancient family of Tichborne suffered in the same cause, in 1601, Thomas for being a priest, and Nicholas for being aiding to him, &c.

The whole number of those who were put to death, in different parts of the kingdom, for the profession of the Catholic religion, in Elizabeth's reign, was about 200; without mentioning the great numbers who died in prison, who were stripped of all their fortune, banished, &c. To avoid returning again to this subject, it may be proper to observe, that capital punishments continued to be actually inflicted on Catholics, upon account of religion, until the latter end of the reign of Charles II. So late as the reign of king William, one Paul Atkinson was condemned to death for his priestly character; but his sentence was mitigated into perpetual imprisonment in Hurst castle, where he died October 15, 1729, and was interred in the Catholic burying-ground, adjoining to this city.

In justification of the persecutions, which we have detailed, the following lame pretexts have been offered:—1st. The rebellion of the earl of Northumberland; but the number of Catholics who joined him, at a time when they certainly formed the majority of the nation, was exceedingly small. Upon the principle of the revolution, the whole body would have been justified in resisting Elizabeth, who had sworn to maintain the church, which she found established; but the Catholics did not admit of that principle, and, in general, were exemplary for their loyalty to this most severe of their persecutors. We have admitted that Wyat's rebellion was no justification of Mary's persecution.—2dly. The bull of excommunication and dethronement, fulminated against the queen, is brought forward; but the body of Catholics, instead of receiving, positively rejected that bull. They knew how to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the bishop of Rome, without ascribing to him one atom of temporal authority. Hence, when Philip the Second sent his invincible armada to execute that bull, the Catholic nobility and gentry petitioned the queen to be placed in the foremost ranks, to oppose the expected invasion, as Theophilus Higgons, a Protestant minister, writes.—3dly. The various plots hatched against the person and government of Elizabeth are alleged. But, admitting that we could give credit to such plots, as that for poisoning the queen's saddle, and others of the same nature, which stand self-confuted; it would be extraordinary, if in so large a body as the Catholics then were, no turbulent or seditious persons were found. Against the above-mentioned sufferers at Winchester, and indeed

were renewed. (1) On this occasion, amongst others, were apprehended Leonard Bilson, uncle of bishop Bilson, and prebendary of Winchester cathedral, and John Cocks, clerks, and John Bright, goldsmith, all three of Winchester; who being committed to the Fleet, and tried at Westminster, confessed (as chief justice Coke says) their wicked actions. What seems much more certain is, that to save themselves from being burnt, they bound themselves by oath, in open court, " not to practise, devise, or put in use, &c. any invocations or conjurations of spirits, witchcrafts, or enchantments, or sorceries, in order to find money or treasure, or to waste, consume, or destroy any person, or to provoke any to unlawful love," &c. After thus engaging themselves, they were led throughout Westminster-hall, and, by the special command of the queen and her council, were set in the pillory before the queen's palace.

The unrivalled success of queen Elizabeth in all her projects, and particularly in cutting off all those who were obnoxious to her, was probably the very circumstance that embittered " the last scene of her life," which, a faithful historian of the church of England assures us, " was dark and disconsolate;" (3) very unlike that of her unsuccessful rival, the queen

against the 200 already named, no plot nor treason whatever was proved, or in general objected, except what was supposed to be implied in the mere exercise of their religion. To make short of the matter, Camden, whilst celebrating Elizabeth, at the desire and under the eye of that bitter persecutor, Cecil lord Burleigh, (see preface to his Annals) is forced to own that the queen was convinced that the greater part of the poor priests, whose blood she poured out like water, were innocent of all actual treason: " Plerosque tamen ex misellis his sacerdotibus exitii in patriam conflandi conscios fuisse non credidit (Elizabetha). Superiores autem hos ut sceleris instrumenta habuisse, quandoquidem qui mittebantur plenam ac liberam sui dispositionem superioribus relinquerent." It is an easy matter to demonstrate the falsehood of the facts here assumed; but taking the argument as it is stated: Elizabeth thought it just to cause 100 priests to be hanged and quartered for the guilt of high treason, because they were liable to commit high treason!

(1) An Historical Essay on Witchcraft, &c. by F. Hutchinson, D. D. p. 33, from Coke's Entries. (2) Ibid.

(3) Collier, Ecc. Hist. part II, p. 669.

of Scots, though the latter died, at Elizabeth's command, on a scaffold. (1) "Whether the deep melancholy," says the same writer, "with which she was seized some time before her death, proceeded from conscience or constitution, is somewhat uncertain. It is possible her extraordinary usage of the queen of Scots, embroiling the neighbouring kingdoms, and harrassing the patrimony of the church, might not please in retrospection." (2) However that may be, the genuine daughter of Henry VIII. and the second great destroyer of Winchester, yielded to fate the last day of the year, 1602 O. S.; (3) and with her ended the dominion of the House of Tudor.

(1) The memory of this unfortunate princess has of late years been vindicated by three well known literary champions, Stuart, Tytler, and Whitaker, from the diabolical calumnies and forgeries of the destroyer of her person, under which it had laboured for two centuries. If such deep and complicated wickedness were capable of aggravation, it was from the hypocrisy of Elizabeth, in publicly denying that she was accountable for the murder of Mary, and in discarding and imprisoning the poor secretary Davidson, as if he were the author of that catastrophe.—There was one good point in the character of Nero: he allowed that he was wicked and cruel, but said that others were as bad as he, as far as they had it in their power to be so.

(2) Collier, p. 669. (3) Viz. 24th of March.

CHAP XIII.

Proclamation of James I. at Winchester.—The Castle bestowed in Fee Farm upon the Tichborne Family.—The Law Term held at Winchester.—Trials and Executions there, on Account of Sir Walter Raleigh's pretended Plot.—Succession of Bishops Bilson, Montague, Andrews, Neile, and Curle.—The Cathedral repaired and embellished soon after the Accession of Charles I.—At the breaking out of the Civil War, Winchester seized upon by the Parliament's Army.—Taken, fortified, and garrisoned by the King's Forces.—Battle of Cheriton.—Winchester retaken by Sir William Waller, but the Castle holds out.—His ravages in the Cathedral.—The Castle itself is reduced by Oliver Cromwell.—Both Castles with other Fortifications erased.—The Common Prayer Book of the Church of England, with the Offices of Bishop, Dean, and Prebendary, suppressed.—Presbyterianism, with the Directory, established in the Cathedral and other Churches, and enforced by Persecution.—King Charles I. is brought Prisoner to Winchester, on his Way to his Trial.—His Reception here.—State of this Place, during the Usurpation.—Fate of the Conspirators, who were connected with Winchester, at the Restoration.—The Church of England and Episcopacy re-established.—Bishops Duppa and Morley.—The Navigation again opened.—Effects of the Dutch War, and of the Plague in this City.—King Charles's Partiality to Winchester.—He begins to build a magnificent Palace in place of the ancient Castle.—Effects and Prospects arising from this Measure.—Result of the unexpected Death of the King.—Accession of James II. notified to the Mayor.—Partisans of the Duke of Monmouth here and in the Neighbourhood.—Execution of Mrs. Alice, vulgarly called Lady Lisle.—The Charter of Winchester inspected and confirmed.—Result of James's Attempt to establish Liberty of Conscience.—Bishop of Winchester, Peter Mews.

THE infinite pains taken by Henry VIII. to prevent the accession of the House of Stewart to the English throne, were now defeated, and the fatal consequences of such an event, predicted by his flattering politicians, were proved to be false. The king of Scotland was unquestionably the lawful heir of the crown of England, and his succeeding to it became the very means of restoring this country to its native strength, and of rendering Great Britain the arbiter of Europe. Still, however, as there were some prejudices against the accession of a foreigner, and as the crown had not always descended in regular succession; the council did not immediately upon the notice of Elizabeth's death proclaim him king, but spent several hours in deliberating together, and in feeling each other's pulses, on this most important subject, (1) Hence it happened that the intelligence concerning the queen's decease was made known throughout the country, and carried to James himself, (2) before that concerning the proclamation of her successor. In these circumstances the high sheriff of Hampshire took a bold and decided part, which proved his attachment to the House of Stewart. Instead of waiting for the orders of the council in London, the result of whose deliberations could not, with any certainty, be known; the instant he heard that Elizabeth was no more, he hurried over to Winchester, from his seat in its neighbourhood, and there proclaimed James I. king of England. (3) This was sir Benjamin Tichborne, of a family more ancient in this county than the conquest, (4) who had been knighted by Elizabeth, in her late progress to Basing. (5) This loyal and spirited conduct of the high sheriff appeared so meritorious in the eyes of the new sovereign, who was remarkably liberal in his favours at his first entrance into England; that he made a grant to him and to his heirs for ever, in fee farm, of the royal castle in this city, with a yearly pension of 100*l.* during his own

(1) Sir Robert Cary's Account, &c. Nichols's Progresses. (2) Ibid.
(3) Baronetage by Kimber and Johnson. Pedigree of the Tichborne family.
(4) Family MSS. Trussel.
(5) In 1601, at which time nine other gentlemen were also dubbed knights. Nic. Prog.

life and the life of his eldest son, sir Richard Tichborne, whom he also knighted. (1) It was probably owing to this attachment of the high sheriff to the king's person and government, and the great interest which he was said to possess in the county; that when the rifeness of the plague in London rendered it impossible to hold the courts of justice there, his majesty removed them to this city. He had previously sent orders to the warden, fellows, and students of the college, to quit their respective apartments and offices, for a certain time, in order to make room for the judges and other public officers, who were appointed to lodge there; and he had provided the episcopal palace of Wolvesey, for holding certain courts therein. (2) By the middle of the month of November, in this first year of James's reign, Winchester was crowded, not only with the great crown officers, but also with the peers of the realm, and their several attendants. For now matters of the utmost importance were to be discussed, which equally required the attendance of the latter as of the former. This was no other than the trial of the pretended conspirators, for, what was called, sir Walter Raleigh's conspiracy; in which certain noblemen, who, of course, were to be tried by their peers, were implicated, no less than persons of almost every other quality and description. (3) That several persons, from different causes, were discontented at the accession of the Scottish king, especially as this had happened without his being tied down to any conditions, is certain, and that some of these might

(1) Baronetage.—It may seem extraordinary that Elizabeth should lavish her favours on known Catholic recusants, as the marquis of Winchester, sir Henry Tichborne, lord Montague, the earl of Southampton, &c. were; yet so the case stood. She knew how to relax the laws in favour of those who pleased her: For example, Cowdry-house was a kind of privileged place for priests, where scores of them were sometimes assembled; and, in the act, 5th of Eliz. against acknowledging the pope's supremacy, there was an express exemption in favour of peers. Thus what was high treason in a commoner, was lawful in a lord. MSS.

(2) MSS.

(3) "This conspiracy was such a mixture of persons, Protestants, Papists, and Atheists, that no one knew what to make of it; but it was generally accounted a trick of state to weaken a party." Echard.—See also Osbern and Tindal ap. Rapin, &c.

have given vent to their uneasiness in murmurs, is very probable; but that such a conspiracy as the one, which was the subject of the state trials at Winchester, ever existed—for example, that sir Walter Raleigh, the sworn enemy of Spain, was in its interest; that lord Grey, the puritan, was labouring to introduce the Catholic religion; and that all the Protestant noblemen and gentlemen in question had placed themselves under the tutelage of William Watson, a proscribed priest, who was trembling for his life, (1) and had chosen him to be lord chancellor of England; (2) will only be believed by those who can credit the Gowry conspiracy, and others of the same complexion, which were invented for political purposes in those unsettled and unprincipled times. There seems to be no doubt but that secretary Cecil, the worthy son of Cecil lord Burleigh, who had signalized his politics in the four preceding reigns; having betrayed the councils of his late mistress to the reigning king, (3) was desirous of still more ingratiating himself in his favour, by sacrificing his former friends. (4) The throwing of two priests into the plot was well calculated to inflame the minds of the vulgar; and the reason why Watson in particular was pitched upon to be the victim, was, that having been a forward busy man in the former reign, he had been at the court of James, (5) from whom he seems to have extorted certain promises, in favour of the Catholic religion, which it was for the interest of the latter should be now forgotten. (6) Be that as it may, the lawyers having now worked up the

(1) Burnet and Rapin complain of James's partiality to Papists. It is difficult to say how much farther these writers wished him to extend his persecution. Between the years 1604 and 1618 he signed the death-warrants of 25 priests or laymen, unaccused of any crime except religion, besides banishing more than 100 priests. It is true he was put upon these measures by the parliament, who, in a common address to him, in 1623, assured him that to execute the penal laws will advance the glory of God. Rushworth's Collect.

(2) Speed. State Trials.

(3) Tindal.

(4) Guthrie, &c.—Cecil, supported by Cobham and Raleigh, had been the head of the party which opposed the earl of Essex, whom the king was accustomed to call his martyr.

(5) Dodd's Ch. Hist. vol. II. It is not unlikely that Clark accompanied him.

(6) It has been the constant belief of Catholics, and also of many respectable Protestant

conspiracy to a proper consistency, from such speeches or papers, breathing a spirit of discontent, as it was in their power to procure; and the

writers, as of Higgons, Osborn, (perhaps also of James himself, who used to call November 5, *Cecil's holiday)* that this master of deceit and perfidy, the secretary of state, secretly excited and directed that most infernal conspiracy called the Gunpowder Plot, in order effectually to root out of this nation the remains of its ancient faith.—As a Wykehamist, who had been particularly distinguished for his talents in the college of this city, and who afterwards belonged to New College, viz. F. Garnet, the Jesuit, was implicated in this unhappy business, it may not be improper to mention here a few circumstances of it, which are not generally known. James having been born of Catholic parents, baptized in the ancient religion, supported, as his mother had been, by the whole strength of that party, and having moreover given them the strongest assurances of his protection whenever he should be called to the English throne; it is certain they were strangely disappointed when that event took place, at finding new penal laws inflicted against them: and it was plain to many, particularly to Cecil, who had his agents amongst them, that a few individuals, who were of the Catholic party, though not of the Catholic religion, (for these neglected all its essential rites, and practised those of the established religion) were ripe for an insurrection, when an opportunity for this purpose should present itself. In these circumstances, Catesby, Piercy, Fawks, Tresham, and five other desperate wretches, for the whole number of the plotters was barely nine, borrowing the plan of the earls of Murray and Morton, the founders of Protestancy in Scotland, (who actually blew up with gunpowder king James's father, Henry Darnley, in his house at Edinburgh) resolved to take measures for destroying in a moment their sovereign and the whole parliament, in the same horrible manner. Their consciences, however, are not so seared as to feel no remorse at the prospect of the infernal crime which they are meditating. Accordingly one of their number, Catesby, knowing the inviolable nature of the seal of confession, communicates the plot, under that seal, to a Jesuit of his acquaintance, F. Greenaway, alias Tesmond, who, so far from removing his scruples, exerts his utmost efforts to induce him to lay it aside; but being unable to effect it, he then prevails upon him to consult, under the same seal of confession, the above-mentioned F. Garnet, of whose learning and abilities all who knew him had the highest opinion. Garnet is still more anxious and urgent that such an infernal crime should not take place, and extorts, as he imagines, a promise, that it shall not be committed, unless the pope give his consent to it, which consent he well knows will never be obtained. The conspirators, however, persevere in their resolution, and give notice to sir Everard Digby and their other friends in the country, to be ready with their arms; for that now important measures for the Catholic interest are in agitation, which will stand in need of their assistance to complete. Thus far, except that the Jesuits endeavour to prevent the plot instead of encouraging it, things go on according to Cecil's wishes. But now he aims at casting his net over persons of greater respectability in the Catholic body, for their

prisoners being brought down from London, under a strong guard, and lodged in the castle of this city; the commoners were first brought upon their trial, November 15, 16, 17. These were sir Walter Raleigh, the hon. George Brooke, a clergyman, brother to lord Cobham, sir Griffin Markham, sir Edward Parham, Antony Copley, Bartholomew Brooksby, esqrs. and with them the aforesaid William Watson and William Clark, priests. (1) They were all brought in guilty, and sentenced to suffer the death of traitors, except sir Edward Parham; though the only thing which looked like a

conduct as well as for their situation, than the already-named poor and desperate youths. Accordingly, *ten days* before the one fixed upon for the diabolical attempt, (that for which the parliament was summoned, viz. Nov. 5) lord Monteagle, a young Catholic peer, son of lord Morley, receives the well-known anonymous letter, which affects obscurity, and yet is significantly plain, admonishing him not to attend parliament on that day. Had the letter come from a real conspirator, he would have thought a few hours, or even a few minutes previous notice sufficient to have saved his friend, without running the incalculable risks to which the existence of a paper of that sort exposed him and his project. But the fact is, Cecil has yet a greater part of his game to play, for which a certain space of time is requisite. Had Monteagle concealed the paper, as it was hoped he would, there is no doubt but all the other twenty Catholic peers, who then sat in parliament, would successively have received similar advertisements. Untowardly, however, for the success of this deep-laid villany, the aforesaid young lord, immediately as he receives the letter, carries it to the secretary himself, who is thereupon obliged to disclose his plot, before it is half matured. However, to draw some advantage from this very event, by flattering the king on his weak side, viz. a conceit of his own sagacity; Cecil affects not to understand the letter, but presents it to his master, who soon smells out the gunpowder, and the exact place where it is deposited. Finally some of the conspirators are seized; upon which the rest fly to arms, and call on sir Everard Digby and their other friends for assistance, by whose aid an army of eighty men is raised. These are soon destroyed, either in battle, or on the scaffold; and amongst the latter is executed the aforesaid Wykehamist, F. Henry Garnet, now superior of the Jesuits, for not revealing the conscientous secret entrusted to him, though he laboured to prevent the mischief contained in it; and F. Oldcorne, of the same society, for harbouring his friend, F. Garnet. Only Tresham, the acquaintance of Cecil, whose appearance in open court would probably have developed the whole mystery, is not brought to his trial, but is timely taken off by poison, as his physician Dr. Butler testifies, dying Nov. 20, in the same year 1605. Osbern. Higgons. Echard. Wood. Dodd. &c.—See in the Gent. Mag. for Jan. 1788, an account of Cecil's instructions for forging plots against Catholics, from a manuscript in his own hand-writing.

(1) Baker. Tindal.

direct proof throughout the whole trials, (1) was the forged confession of one of the accused, namely, lord Cobham, (2) with whom, therefore, sir Walter Raleigh in vain requested to be confronted. (3) A few days after this, the trial of the two noblemen, lord Cobham and lord Grey de Wilton, commenced in the county hall; which was fitted up for the purpose, with a cloth of estate, as it was called, or canopy for the lord high steward, chancellor Egerton, to sit under, and with proper seats, on each side of the hall for the peers. (4) These two were also pronounced guilty of treason, and condemned to suffer death. Notwithstanding the pretended deep guilt of the prisoners, only three of them suffered, namely, the three churchmen, William Watson and William Clark, whose character alone was sufficient to condemn them; and the hon. George Brooke, who considering himself as particularly injured in having been dispossessed of his mastership of St. Cross, near this city, to make place for a Scotsman, (5) had probably given particular offence, by the manner of his complaining of it. The two former were hanged, bowelled, and quartered, in this city, November 29. They did not confess the conspiracy, because they were not conscious of any, nor did they complain of the peculiar hardship of their fate. (6) Watson, however, having been an active partisan in certain disputes which had been

(1) Watson alleged, that the treason, with which he and the other prisoners were charged, was stated to have happened previously to James being crowned king of England. But his taking advantage of such a plea, which he supposed to be a good one, by no means argues his confessing the indictment, as many historians pretend.

(2) Echard.

(3) Rapin. (4) Speed. Baker.

(5) Dodd. Wood's Athen. According to the latter, the late queen had designed this rich benefice, which became vacant a little before her death, for Brooke; but the king bestowed it upon his countryman, James Hudson, who being a layman, and therefore incapable of holding it, the same was given to sir Thomas Lake's brother. From this account we may clearly infer, though former writers do not notice it, that George Brooke was a clergyman.

(6) This was particularly the case with Watson, who had distinguished himself by his publications against all kinds of plots and insurrections on account of religion, and above all against the Spanish pretensions and interest, &c. Collier, Ecc. Hist. part 11, p. 668. Dodd, vol. 11, p. 379.

agitated amongst the Catholics themselves, and having written several very unjustifiable things against his superior the archpriest and the Jesuits; at the place of execution publicly asked pardon for the injury he had done them. (1) On the 5th of December the hon. George Brooke was brought out of his confinement, and beheaded on the castle green. The king, who was all this time at Wilton, (2) being informed of these particulars, now played a part which proved that, though he thought there was guilt somewhere or other amongst the prisoners, yet he was far from being satisfied with the evidence brought against them upon their trials. He therefore publicly signs three several warrants for the execution, on the following Friday, December 8, at the hour of ten in the morning, of the lords Cobham and Grey, and of sir Griffin Markham; which warrants are accordingly sent to the high sheriff, sir Benjamin Tichborne. (3) But this is only a feint; for on the very day named for the performance of this tragedy, he privately dispatches to this city one Gibbs, a Scotsman, in whom he can confide, with a reprieve in his pocket, which is not to be made known, even to the high sheriff himself, until the very time of the execution; when being delivered to him, together with his majesty's instructions, he proceeds in conformity with the latter. Accordingly sir Griffin Markham is first brought out of the castle upon the scaffold erected in front of it; where having prepared himself for the fatal axe, which he is in momentary expectation of feeling, but without having made the least acknowledgement of the crimes alleged against him, he is suddenly withdrawn from the scaffold, under pretence of confronting him once more with the other two prisoners. Instead of this, however, he is conveyed to a separate cell, and lord Grey de Wilton is next brought up to the block; who, having made his prayer, but without

(1) Dodd, p. 380.

(2) Speed. Echard. Rapin, &c.—The Anonymous Historian, who is seldom right, in the three following lines asserts three palpable falsehoods: "The king, with his whole court, retired to this city, (during the plague) and occupied the castle. During his residence therein, the conspiracy was discovered."

(3) Speed's Hist. Baker's Chron.

the desired confession of guilt, is, under a similar pretext, whilst waiting for the last blow, ordered back again to the castle. Finally, the same farce is played upon lord Cobham; who, when he has nothing but instant death before his eyes, equally disappoints those who expect some light to be thrown by him upon the late mysterious plot. In a word, the three prisoners are now produced all together upon the boards, and there informed that his majesty has granted them a free pardon; which of course they receive with gratitude, and the surrounding multitude hear with joy: all but Cecil and his confederates, who had forged this pretended plot, and had endeavoured to gain it credit by the death of so many respectable men on account of it. (1)

Whilst these transactions were carrying on, the eyes of the whole kingdom were directed towards Winchester; where the conflux of great personages, and the expenditure that this must have occasioned, exhibited some faint image of its former consequence. It appears also that the king himself was sometimes at Winchester, in his different progresses into the west of England, as he generally called at Tichborne-house in his way thither. We do not discover, however, that he conferred any permanent privilege or advantage upon the city. Indeed we have unquestionable evidence that it continued to decline, both in its trade, commerce, and its exterior appearance, during the present, as it had done in the preceding reign. (2) The remnant of its manufacture was cut off, (3) its navigable canal, communicating with the sea, was choaked up, (4) and its few remaining churches were so much neglected, that the best of them had not a roof upon it, to keep out the weather. (5)

(1) Speed. Baker. Guthrie. Echard. Dodd.

(2) From Trussel, who wrote his manuscript history of our city at this time, and dedicated it to the marquis of Winchester.

(3) This writer ascribes the poverty of this city in part to the general disuse of men's caps at this time; an article of dress that had been long on the decline. It appears that the decay of the town of Stafford, about the same time, was ascribed to the like cause, the decline of the capping manufacture. Nichols's Progresses.

(4) Trussel's MSS.

(5) This circumstance Trussel particularly relates of the parish church of St. Mary Calen-

Dr. Bilson continued bishop of this see during a considerable part of this reign, but without supporting the character which he had acquired in the reign of Elizabeth. This was in consequence of the part which he took in promoting the scandalous divorce of the countess of Essex from her husband, in order to pave the way for a marriage between her and the great royal favourite, Robert Carr, viscount Rochester and earl of Somerset; the whole course of which presents a complicated scene of adultery, murder, and other wickedness, absolutely unparalleled. (1) This prelate dying in 1616, was buried in Westminster abbey; (2) when Dr. James Montague, descended from the earls of Salisbury of that name, was translated to Winchester, from the see of Bath and Wells. Dr. Montague had a great share in the king's esteem, and was chosen to be the editor of his writings. (3) Being a rigid Gomarist or Calvinist in the disputes which were then so much agitated concerning grace, predestination, &c. he was thought to have influenced his royal disciple in the active part which he took in defence of that system; (4) sending his divines to the synod of Dort, who subscribed to its acts, in the names of the churches of England and Scotland. (5)

dar, in the High-street, intimating that the chief blame of this neglect lay with the bishop. N.B. At this time there were no fewer than thirty parish churches remaining in the city and suburbs.

(1) Wood. Collier. Echard. Rapin.—The archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London declined sitting upon this business. Hence Bilson was at the head of the commission for pronouncing upon it. His son being soon after knighted by the king, who then favoured the divorce, he was nicknamed by the people sir Nullity Bilson. Rapin.—Soon afterwards the king's eyes were opened, and the favourite was disgraced and condemned to death, which many of his companions actually suffered.

(2) Godwin. (3) Collier, part II, p. 717. (4) Ibid, p. 716.

(5) There were four divines to represent England, and one to represent Scotland. The acts of the synod were presented to the king, the archbishop, and other prelates of England, and approved by them. Gerard Brand's Hist. Ref. Pays Bas, vol. II. 12mo. The king was so earnest in this affair, as to cause Winwood to write to Holland, that Vorstius, the head of the Arminians, must either be banished or burnt. He says also of himself, that "being Defender of the Faith, his duty is to drive this cursed heresy to hell." Idem. vol. I. p. 416.

Bishop Montague died at Greenwich, in 1618, and was buried in his former cathedral of Bath, which he had repaired at a great expence. (1) His death made place in this see for Lancelot Andrews, who had already been successively bishop of Chichester and Ely. He also, unfortunately for himself, had been, whilst bishop of Ely, one of the commissioners who had declared in favour of the divorce between the earl and countess of Essex. But now that he was bishop of Winchester, he was employed in a still more important and extraordinary commission, in point of theology and canon law. His metropolitan, Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1621, had, by a most unlucky accident in shooting at a deer, killed a man in Bramzill park, in this county. (2) Hence it was apprehended that he had contracted an irregularity, which implied the loss of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority whatsoever, especially as the accident had happened to the archbishop whilst intent on the uncanonical exercise of the chace. (3) In these circumstances bishop Andrews was particularly serviceable to his unfortunate metropolitan: (4) being one of the prelates who received a special licence from the king to reinvest him, *ad cautelam*, as the term is, with all his former spiritual and ecclesiastical authority, in case he should have forfeited them: which license was executed accordingly. (5) Bishop Andrews died in 1626, at the age of 71, and was buried in the church of St. Mary Overy, where a copious epitaph celebrates his birth, education, promotions, learning, orthodoxy, and virtues; amongst

(1) Godwin. Collier.

(2) Collier, part II, p. 720. (3) Ibid, p. 721. (4) Baker's Chron.

(5) Collier. Ibid. also Collect. Record. No. 108.—Collier, in speaking of this instrument, granted by the king for over-ruling and dispensing with the canons, and for reviving the archbishop's character, thus exclaims: "This is a wonderful relief from the *crown!* and supposes a patriarchal, at least, if not a papal authority vested in the king!"—It is, however, to be remembered, that James acts precisely in conformity with the advice which Andrews and the other bishops, whom he had consulted on this case, had given him; and that, in the very terms of the instrument itself of dispensation, he grounds his claim to exercise this power, on his supreme ecclesiastical authority, which could not be denied without incurring the penalties of high treason. Ibid. p. 721. Rec. No. 108.

which is numbered his celibacy, as entitling him to a particular future reward. (1) In the course of James's reign our city was distinguished by a charitable foundation, that of the Blue Coat Hospital, of which we shall afterwards have occasion to make more particular mention. (2)

Few places, if any, in the kingdom, partook more than Winchester of the various fortune and changes of the eventful reign of Charles I. who was proclaimed king upon the death of his father James, March 27, 1625. To a city, now chiefly distinguished by its rank in the hierarchy, the early part of the present reign, which was devoted to the support and exaltation of the established church, appeared singularly bright and auspicious. To bishop Andrews succeeded as bishop of this see, in 1627, Dr. Richard Neile, being his fifth translation. From this circumstance we may judge, that, though of humble birth, (3) he had been a favourite of the late king, as he also was of the reigning sovereign. The fact is, after all that James had said and done in behalf of the fanatical and pernicious doctrines of the Gomarists or rigid Calvinists;(4) he himself, together with most of the prelates and clergy of the established church, embraced the more mild and benign system of Arminianism. (5) Amongst these, bishop Neile was particularly distinguished, (6) who thereby incurred the hatred of the more rigid sectaries, not less than by the severity with which he treated them; one of

(1) The epitaph concludes as follows: "Annorum pariter & publicæ famæ satur, sed bonorum omnium passim cum luctu denatus, *cælebs* hinc migravit ad aureolam cælestem." Stow's Survey of London.—N. B. The *aureola* here mentioned, according to divines, is the distinct reward of virginity, in addition to the general crown of the predestinate.

(2) See our Survey.

(3) He was the son of a tallow-chandler in London. Fasti Oxon.

(4) These taught and defined in the synod of Dort the absolute certainty and security of divine grace, the sinfulness of moral virtues and good works in pagans and heretics, the predetermined wickedness and torments of the greater part of mankind, &c.

(5) Mosheim's Ch. Hist. by Maclaine, vol. IV. p. 500. Collier, Ch. Hist. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, and Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, who had been one of the English deputies at Dort, retained the old rigid doctrine.

(6) Richardson, De Præs.

whom, in the diocese of Litchfield, he had condemned as an obstinate heretic, and delivered up to be burnt.(1) He perfectly agreed with Laud and king Charles on the propriety of restoring to the divine service, and to the churches themselves, some part of that majesty and splendour, of which an avaricious impiety had long deprived them; but being, in the year 1631, once more translated, namely, to the archbishopric of York, he left the execution of this plan, in our city, to his successor. This was Dr. Walter Curle, who had been successively bishop of Rochester and of Bath. He, together with Dr. John Young, who was then dean of Winchester, entering perfectly into the views of the king and the metropolitan, many improvements, chiefly respecting the cathedral, were set on foot, and carried on with great spirit. In the first place, several nuisances and encroachments were removed. The south west end of the cathedral had been blocked up with houses and gardens; in consequence of which, there was no way northward into the Close, without going through the church, itself, which was considered as an indecency. These obstructions were removed, in the very first year of Curle's accession to this see, and a passage, called the slype, was opened where the houses had stood. The church doors were kept shut, except during service, and two curious anagrams, recording these circumstances, were engraved at the entrances of the said passage. (2) The inside likewise of the venerable pile began also, for the first time in the space of a century, to receive certain decorations and improvements, which were executed with the liberality, if not with the taste, of a Fox or a Wykeham. (3) The vicar-general was aiding and assisting to these alterations. By his orders, the same regulations were made for this cathedral, as had been introduced into that of Canter-

(1) Edward Wightman, of Burton upon Trent, burnt at Litchfield for various heresies, in March 1613.—"The following month Bartholomew Legget was pronounced an incorrigible heretic, by King, bishop of London, and delivered over to the secular magistrate. Upon which a writ De Heretico Comburendo being directed to the sheriffs in London, he was burnt in Smithfield." Collier, Ecc. Hist. part II, p. 707. Baker's Chron.

(2) See our Survey, part II.

(3) See a more particular account of these ornaments, in our Survey.

bury; (1) namely, new ornaments of plate and hangings were provided for the altar, which was placed in the altar situation, that is to say, against the eastern skreen; the altar was also now railed in, and the prebendaries were obliged, by oath, to bow towards it, at their going in and coming out of the choir. In addition to surplices, four copes were also provided, which were ordered to be used on all Sundays and holidays. (2) The use of pictures and images in churches was also countenanced, if not introduced, by many of the clergy, and by the king himself, as it had been by both of his immediate predecessors; (3) and the defacers of them were severely censured and punished. (4) Finally, bishop Curle was so rigorous in exacting a compliance with these or similar statutes, throughout his whole diocese; that he obliged all churchwardens to take an oath that they would denounce to him or to his officers such clergymen as were wanting in the observance of them. (5) Whilst these repairs and decorations were carrying on, the king, with his queen, Henrietta Maria, daughter of the great Henry IV. of France, came to Winchester; on which occasion the arms of the royal pair, in stained glass, were put up in the hall of the deanery, where they are still to be seen. (6)

(1) Collier, part II, p. 762. (2) Ibid.

(3) With respect to Elizabeth, see p. 364, note. James I. actually placed pictures and statues in his chapel of Edinburgh, alleging, that those, who objected to the figures of the apostles and patriarchs, would suffer those of lions, dragons, and devils, in churches. He frequently said, that these things were the books of the unlearned. Grey's Examination of Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. II. Collier's Hist. &c.—Laud placed a crucifix on the altar, according to ancient usage, at the coronation of Charles I. Collier, p. 736.—Bishop Montague, in his book called *Apello Cæsarem*, held that images were of use to instruct the ignorant, which book was licenced in due form, and approved of by several bishops, as well as by the king. Ibid p. 729, 734, &c.

(4) The recorder of Salisbury, a puritan, in 1632, was fined 500*l.* for breaking a very indifferent painting, representing the Almighty creating the world, in the window of St. Edmund's church, in that city. Collier. Rapin. (5) Iidem.

(6) The memory of this visit is preserved by many other monuments. It probably took place, not during the civil war, as the Anonymous Historian pretends, but in 1637, when we find the king keeping his court at his neighbouring hunting seat of Lyndhurst.

These measures being misrepresented and aggravated, as is usual in such cases, by that bold and powerful sect, who, under pretence of reforming, were bent upon the destruction of the established church; furnished one of their chief pretexts for taking up arms against the sovereign. Oliver Cromwell, at the head of a committee of parliament, in 1628, stating what were called the religious grievances of the nation, had particularly complained of the former bishop of Winchester, Neile, for countenancing persons who preached popery. (1) The oath imposed upon churchwardens by bishop Curle, afforded a still more serious and plausible subject of complaint to the famous long parliament, a little before their unhappy rupture with the king. (2) In this parliament, which first met in November 1640, the representatives of Winchester were sir William Pole, knt. and John Lisle esq. (3) the latter of whom unfortunately bore too distinguished a part in the turbulent scenes which afterwards followed.

There is no doubt but Winchester, in general, was well affected to the king's cause; and there is more than conjecture that the college, with many of the clergy here, contributed, as the universities had done, whatever plate they could spare, (4) to his assistance. (5) Nevertheless this city very soon fell into the hands of his enemies. For sir William Waller, who was a parliamentary general, having, within a few days after the royal standard was erected at Nottingham, taken Portsmouth, the most important place in the kingdom after London, from general Goring, who held it for the king, (6) he proceeded to reduce the most considerable places near it. These were Chichester, Farnham, and Winchester, all which he was master of in December 1642. (7) The possession of this city, with its castle, gave him the command of a considerable extent of country to the west; which circumstance he improved very much to the service of

(1) Tindal ap. Rapin, vol. II, p. 278.
(2) Rapin.
(3) City Records.
(4) MSS. (5) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, book VI.
(6) At the beginning of September. Ib.—The standard was erected August 25. Ib. b. v.
(7) Rapin.

his masters. For general Wilmot having about this time made a conquest of Marlborough, with an army of royalists; it happened that lord Grandison, in returning back with his booty and prisoners to Oxford, where the king himself was, by mistaking his orders, separated himself, with a detachment of five hundred cavalry, too far from the main body. (1) Waller taking advantage of this mistake, sends out a body of horse of ten times that number, which cut them off, and obliged them to seek refuge in Winchester itself, where they were all taken prisoners; being the first loss of that kind which the king sustained. Lord Grandison himself, however, with two or three of his principal officers, made his escape from this city, and rejoined the king at his head-quarters of Oxford. (2) Soon after this sir William Waller was declared, by the parliament, general of Hampshire; (3) and Winchester, with the whole county, except Basing-house, continued for about a twelvemonth under the controul of the rebels, but without any garrison, that we are able to discover, being placed in the city or castle. At the latter end of the year 1643, the king being master of the important city of Bristol, and of the greater part of the west; many of the Hampshire and Sussex gentlemen began to take measures, in conjunction with the king, for shaking off the parliamentary yoke, and for establishing the royal authority in those counties. As Winchester was looked upon as a military post of the utmost importance for the success of this project; (4) its castle, chiefly through the means of its owner, sir Richard Tichborne, was seized upon, and garrisoned by a party of royalists, under the command of sir William, afterwards lord Ogle. (5) To this same important situation, (6) the army which the king had destined to secure to him these counties, drew together about Christmas, (7) under the command of Hopton, baron Stratton. It consisted partly of regiments newly raised in the west, by Hopton and sir John Berkley, and partly of two veteran regiments of foot, and

(1) Clarendon's Hist. b. vi.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Rapin, vol. ii, 467.
(4) Clarendon, b. viii.
(5) Baronetage. Clarendon, b. viii.
(6) So Clarendon repeatedly describes it to be.
(7) Clarendon,

one troop of horse, which had lately been brought over from Ireland; forming an army of 3000 foot and 1500 horse. These were afterwards reinforced with 1000 men from the garrison of Oxford. (1) As it was the intention of the king's generals to render the city, into which many respectable persons, about this time, withdrew for safety, (2) no less than the castle, safe from insult; fortifications were now thrown up round it, particularly on the western (3) and eastern sides. (4) There seems to be no doubt but that lord Hopton would have effectually secured this city for the king, and gradually have reduced the whole country to his obedience, if he had been allowed leisure and a sufficient supply of troops for this purpose. But by attempting too much, he lost all. It is true he gave to sir William Waller, whose head-quarters were at Farnham, several severe checks, (5) and by a bold and rapid movement took Arundel castle, after a siege of three days: but being under a necessity of extending his small army too much, in order to cover his new conquest in Sussex, as well as his head-quarters in our city; he gave the enemy's general, who had newly returned from London to Farnham with powerful reinforcements, an advantage, which he knew well how to improve. The out-post of the royal army was at Alton, an advantageous position had colonel Boles who commanded there been sufficiently strong, and more upon the watch. He appears to have had only his own regiment of infantry, to the number

(1) Clarendon.

(1) Amongst these were bishop Curle and Dr. Peter Heylin, the learned author whose History of the Reformation has been frequently quoted above. He was rector of Alresford, in this neighbourhood, and was particularly obnoxious to the Presbyterians, for having set forth his church according to the late injunctions. Another distinguished refugee was the famous controvertist, Chillingworth, a man of unsteady principles in religion, having frequently changed his system; but of talents to make the most of any cause which he took in hand. Having accompanied lord Hopton to Arundel castle, he died there. Wood. Clarendon. Richardson.

(3) These are still discernible in, what is called, Orum's Arbour, and the adjoining fields.

(4) These, in the modern style of fortification, were very perfect a few years ago, upon St. Giles's Hill.

(5) Clarendon.

of 1300, (1) with two troops of horse; and he was lying within the distance of eight miles from an enemy, who consisted of five or six thousand men. In addition to the superiority of numbers, Waller took advantage of the darkness of the night; and, marching from Farnham, surrounded the town of Alton by day light, before it was possible for Boles to give notice of his danger to lord Hopton at Winchester, whither the cavalry retreated full speed. In these extremities the colonel did every thing that was possible for a brave man to do in his situation, endeavouring to hold out with his infantry, until, as he hoped, assistance from his friends should arrive; or at all events, being resolved to sell his life to the rebels as dear as possible. In the end, he retreated into the town church, with about 80 men, disdaining to receive quarter, which his enemies repeatedly offered him; on the contrary, he killed many of them with his own hand, and at last, being oppressed by numbers, fell himself, with sixty of his men round him, after an action, which altogether lasted six or seven hours. This unfortunate event was of the greatest consequence in deciding the fate of our city. Waller's army was greatly encouraged, whilst that of lord Hopton was considerably dispirited. The king himself was so affected at the particular loss of colonel Boles, that, when the news of it were communicated to him, he exclaimed: *bring me a mourning scarf, for I have lost one of the best commanders in the kingdom.* (2) Shortly after, Waller having retaken Arundel castle, and he, as well as Hopton, being desirous of a general action; such a one took place upon Cheriton down, not far from Alresford, and within seven miles of this city. The king's army consisted of about 5000 foot and 3000 horse, and Waller, with sir William Balfour, exceeded in horse; but they were, upon the matter, equal in foot; with this only advantage, that both his horse and foot were, as they were always, much better armed, no man wanting any

(1) The noble author last quoted, makes this regiment consist only of 500 men; but in this, and other particulars relating to Colonel Boles, we prefer the account contained in his epitaph, on a plate of brass in Winchester cathedral, drawn up by one of his family.

(2) Epitaph.

weapon, offensive or defensive, that was proper for him; and sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of cuirassiers, called the *lobsters*, were so formidable, that the king's naked and unarmed troops, amongst which few were better armed than with swords, could not bear the impression. The king's horse never behaved themselves so ill as that day; for the main body of them, after they had sustained one fierce charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance, and left their principal officers to shift for themselves, many of whom were killed. (1) Of these fell that day John lord Stewart, brother to the duke of Richmond, general of the horse, a young man of extraordinary hope, and whose courage was so signal in this action, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had outlived it. Another was sir John Smith, brother to the lord Carrington, and commissary general of horse. He had been trained up from his youth in the war of Flanders, being of an ancient Roman Catholic family, (2) and had long the reputation

(1) This whole narration is given in the words of lord Clarendon, b. VIII. Certain particulars in it however are transposed, and the whole is abridged.

(2) The king, who in the preceding part of his reign had been forced by the clamours of the Puritans, actually to send ten Catholic priests or laymen to the gallows, for the exercise of their religion; when his disputes became more violent with the parliament, was deterred by similar outcries from employing any persons of that religion in his service. Amongst other pretended popish plots, one was stated to be for blowing up the river Thames. According to another, there was a popish army training under ground. In consequence of these clamours, even the marquis of Winchester's house was, by the king's command, stripped of all its arms. At length sir Arthur Aston, in order to convince his majesty that the other party was willing to employ the Catholics, if they chose to serve them, actually procured a commission for himself in the parliamentary forces, which he produced to Charles. The scruples of the king then ceasing, the Catholic nobility and gentry exerted themselves, almost to the ruin of their families and fortunes, in the cause of honour and loyalty. Many of them were amongst the best of the royal officers and generals, particularly the abovementioned sir John Smith, sir Arthur Aston, sir Marmaduke Langdale, sir Henry Gage, colonel Howard, sir John Weld, major-general Webb, lord viscount Dunbar, lord Powis, lord Arundel of Wardour, the earl of Carnarvon, the marquisses of Winchester and Worcester, &c. The whole number of noblemen and gentlemen of that religion, who lost their lives in the king's service, on this occasion, was 194, being two-fifths of the sum total of the royalists of the said description so killed. See Dodd's Ch. Hist. vol. III. Grey's Exam. of vols. II and III of Neal's Hist. Lord Castlemain's List, Memoirs of Miss. Pr. vol. II.

of one of the best officers of horse. As soon as the first troubles appeared in Scotland, he betook himself to the service of his own prince, and from the beginning of the war to his own end, performed many signal actions of courage. (1) The foot behaved very gallantly, and had not only the better of the other foot, but bore two or three charges from the horse with notable courage, and without being broken, whilst those horse which stood upon the field, and should have assisted them, could be persuaded but to stand. When the evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither party was sorry, the lord Hopton thought it necessary to leave the field, and drawing off his men, and carrying with him many of his wounded, he retired, with all his cannon and ammunition, whereof he lost none, that night to Reading; the enemy being so scattered had no mind to pursue: only Waller himself made haste to Winchester, where he thought, upon his success to have been immediately admitted into that castle, which was his own inheritance; (2) but he found that too well defended, and so returned with taking revenge upon the city, by plundering it with all the insolence and rapine imaginable.

From this account of the noble historian, it appears that the plan of keeping up a royal army at Winchester for overawing this and the neighbouring county of Sussex, was totally defeated by the event of the battle of Cheriton, which took place March 29, 1644; as lord Hopton, instead of returning to our city, retreated by the way of Reading, to join the main army at Oxford. Hence there was no question of defending the new works cast up round our city, which now lay at the mercy of the enemy; and

(1) One of these exploits was his recovering the king's standard, when it had been seized and carried away by the enemy at the battle of Edge-hill. Clarendon. Tindal.

(2) This is a mistake of Clarendon, as we may gather from what has been said above, p. 389, and from what will hereafter occur. The inheritance of the castle certainly belonged to sir Richard Tichborne, who had married Waller's sister, and who, together with his son, afterwards sir Henry Tichborne, was ranged in battle against his brother-in-law on Cheriton down. Waller himself had married, for his second wife, the daughter of the marquis of Winchester, and was M.P. for Andover. MSS. Baronetage. Wood. Dodd, vol. III, p. 452.

sir William Ogle was satisfied with keeping possession of the castle for the king. The wanton violence of the soldiery, at their triumphant entrance into Winchester, heightened by their religious prejudices, was chiefly displayed against our venerable cathedral. Here "the monuments of the dead were defaced, the bones of kings and bishops thrown about the church, the two famous brazen statues of the kings Charles and James, erected at the entrance into the choir, pulled down, the communion plate, books, hangings, cushions, seized upon and made away with, the church vestments put on by the heathenish soldiers, riding in that posture in derision about the streets, some scornfully singing pieces of the common prayer, whilst others tooted upon broken pieces of the organs. The stories of the old and new testament, curiously beautified with colours, and cut out in carved work, were utterly destroyed, and of the brass, torn from the violated monuments, might have been built a house, as strong as the brazen towers in old romances." (1) The ordinances of parliament would have authorised still more hostile measures against the church of England, but Waller had not leisure at present to attend to these things, being ordered, in conjunction with the earl of Essex, to besiege Oxford. Thus was the fate of this city for some time suspended: even the former service of the church seems to have gone on for some time longer, as prebendaries continued to be installed in the cathedral, on each vacancy, until late in the summer of 1645. (2) At length, after the fatal battle of Naseby, the king's affairs becoming every where desperate, and most places in the west being brought under the power of the parliament, by general sir Thomas Fairfax; the famous Oliver Cromwell was sent by him from Devizes, Sept. 26, with an army, consisting of four regiments of foot and three of horse, to reduce this city and castle, as likewise Basing-house. (3) This exploit he executed with his wonted rapidity and success.

(1) Ryves's Mercurius Rusticus, and Foulis's Plots of pretended Saints.

(2) Viz. Laurence Hinton, rector of Chilbolton, installed Dec. 14, 1644; Thomas Gawen, rector of Exton, installed June 17, 1645; and Nic. Preston, installed July 23, 1645. Gale's List.

(3) Clarendon. Guthrie's Gen. Hist. of Eng. b. III. Rapin.

He appeared before our city on the 28th of the said month, and immediately summoned it to surrender, sending a message for this purpose to the mayor; who returned a civil answer, but at the same time signified that the command of the city, as well as of the castle, was vested in lord Ogle. (1) It is probable that a few shots were fired into the city, in order to intimidate the inhabitants, from a distant eminence, which still preserves the name of Oliver's Battery; but it is certain that his chief efforts were directed against the castle, which alone was in a situation to defend itself. He accordingly thundered upon it, from a much nearer battery, during the space of a week, when it was surrendered to him, (2) upon terms much more favourable to the garrison's safety and property, than to the governor's honour; some of the king's friends making no scruple to call its capitulation a deed of treachery. (3) Oliver was exact in observing the terms agreed upon; for one of the royal officers making it appear that he had been plundered by a party of six soldiers, belonging to the victorious army, the former ordered one of these, chosen by lot, instantly to be hung up, and he sent the other five to sir Thomas Glenham, the king's commander at Oxford, to be dealt with as he should think proper, who instantly discharged them. (4)

We may say that if any name is deserving of execration in this city, it is the name of Cromwell. King Henry's vicar-general of this name had destroyed the religious antiquities of Winchester; and the Cromwell, of whom we are speaking, now laid its military antiquities in the dust. No sooner was he master of the castle, than, in conformity with the general practice of the rebels, he began to demolish it, by blowing it up with gunpowder, (5) that it might never more serve as a hold or a retreat to

(1) City Records. Viz. Oct. 5. Guthrie.

(2) Guthrie tells us it was "very well garrisoned." Lord Clarendon says "it surrendered upon easy conditions;" but Wood expressly asserts that it was treacherously given up. Athen. Oxon. Heylin. (3) Ibid. (4) Guthrie.

(5) Warton says that Cromwell brought up his cannon close to the castle, and fired upon it incessantly, until it was levelled with the ground. It is not likely that the prudent Oli-

to royalists. The castle, thus dismantled, but in all appearance still affording a good lodging-house, was bestowed by parliament upon sir William Waller, in reward of his services; (1) the real proprietor of it, sir Richard Tichborne, who had remained in it during the siege, having suffered the sequestration of all his estates, both real and personal; as was the case with most of the other Catholics of distinction. (2) The same demolitions were carried on at the fortifications of the city, particularly those about West-gate, where what was called the Norman tower, with the other turrets, was demolished. In like manner the bishop's castle of Wolvesey, as it had risen much about the same time with the royal castle, so it now fell with it; being reduced to that heap of majestic ruins which it still remains. Several churches and other public buildings are said to have been levelled on the same occasion. This venerable city being thus miserably dismantled and defaced, Cromwell left to inferior agents the execution of the parliament's several ordinances relating to church affairs, and hastened to Basing, which he had it also in command to subdue. But this was not so easy a business as the reduction of Winchester. That house, which was the largest belonging to any subject in England, (3) had already stood two sieges, in one of which it had been relieved in a most gallant manner by sir John Gage. (4) It had a brave garrison, and a resolute commander, namely, the marquis of Winchester himself; who, amidst all the bad news of places daily falling into the hands of the enemy, constantly declared, that if the king had not another foot of ground in England, he should still have

ver would have been so prodigal of his ammunition; and the very appearance of the ruins, like those of Corfe castle, and so many other castles then demolished, proves that it was destroyed by mining.

(1) Viz. Jan. 1646. Athen. Oxon.—N.B. This fact, which is positively attested by the accurate Wood, clearly confutes the assertion of lord Clarendon, which is adopted by Rapin. The parliament never would have passed an act to bestow upon Waller *his own inheritance*, nor would they insult him by pretending to *reward him* with what was already his own.

(2) Baronetage. Dodd's Ch. Hist. Memoirs Miss. Pr.

(3) Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth. (4) See Clarendon, b. VIII.

Basing. (1) It was accordingly defended, this third time, with the same valour, but not with the same success, as in the two former sieges. In short, the marquis and his friends, most of whom agreed with him in religion as well as well as politics, did all that brave men could do. They rejected the imperious summons of the besiegers, (2) and defended themthemselves to the last extremity; standing a storm, in which they were all put to the sword, except the marquis himself, and a few of his principal officers, who were sent by Cromwell up to London, to wait the pleasure of parliament. (3) *Loyalty-house* itself, as it was called, (4) was then burnt to the ground.

Winchester being now completely in the power of parliament, a second reformation in religion was here set on foot, and carried on by much the same means as had been employed in effecting the former. The established worship had been cried down by popular orators as gross and superstitious, and the people were made to believe that the religious system, which was now offered them, was more pure and worthy of the deity. Many violent speeches had been made in parliament, and many libels circulated throughout the nation, against the conduct of the bishops and clergy. (5) Their conduct had been misrepresented and calumniated, real faults aggravated, and individual failings charged upon the whole body. (6) They had been deprived of their voices in parliament, and in the convocation; and, in short, the religion of the nation had been changed, not only without the concurrence of the clergy, but in direct opposition to them, and by mere lay authority. In the first place, by virtue of an ordinance, which had passed in 1643, (7)

(1) Tindal ap. Rapin.

(2) Clarendon. (3) Idem. Peerage. Guthrie. Memoirs of Miss. Pr.

(4) The marquis himself wrote, with a diamond, upon every window in the house, *Aimez Loyauté*, or *Love Loyalty*; hence the same became the motto of the family arms, and the house itself was called Loyalty. Peerage. Tindal ap. Rapin.

(5) Collier, part II, p. 820.

(6) Hist. of Churches of Eng. and Scot. by a (Dissenting) Clergyman, vol. III, p. 123, &c.

(7) Ibid. Collier, p. 730.

all crosses, crucifixes, representations of saints and angels, copes, surplices, hangings, candlesticks, basins, organs, &c. were carried out of the cathedral and other churches. The railings and altars were also every where destroyed, the raised chancels levelled, and a variety of other depredations committed; particularly in the cathedral, which is even said to have been actually turned into a stable for Cromwell's cavalry, during the short time that he remained in our city. (1) In the second place, the common prayer book was put down, by virtue of an ordinance passed in the preceding year, and a new mode of worship, called the Directory, was substituted in its place, to be observed in all churches, chapels, and private families. (2) Thirdly, the offices of deans, chapters, archdeacons, &c. were suppressed; which measure was followed, about the time we are speaking of, with the abolition of the style and character of archbishops and bishops. (3) There was now no longer a diocese of Winchester, composed of such a number of parishes, but the same local district was divided into certain presbyteries and classes. (4) Finally, not content with a complete triumph over their adversaries, and with the legal establishment of their own form of worship; the dissenting ministers of the time called upon their friends in parliament to persecute, with unrelenting severity, all those who differed from them in religious opinions. This they represented as doing the work of God, professing themselves *abhorrers* of those who adopted milder principles, and appointing a general fast on Christmas-day, and another fast every month, to expiate the crying sin, as they represented it, of religious toleration. (5) Accordingly, to read the common prayer book in any church or private family, subjected the offender, by authority of the said parliament, to a penalty of 5*l.* for the first act, 10*l.* for the second, and of three years imprisonment for the third. (6) There was also a long catalogue of heresies

(1) Local Tradition.
(2) Collier, part II, p. 835.
(3) Viz. in Oct. 1646. Collier, p. 848.
(4) Hist. of Ch. of Eng. and Scot. vol. III, p. 214.
(5) Ibid. p. 160, 204, 235.
(6) Ibid. p. 158. Collier, p. 388.

drawn up; the maintaining of which was punished in some cases with imprisonment, in others with death. (1) Such were the laws now enacted by those, who had made the persecutions which they had suffered one of the chief pretexts for overturning the establishment, both in church and state! After all, however, the chief weight of actual personal punishment fell upon the Quakers, who were whipped, (2) and upon the Catholics, who were hanged and quartered. (3)

The foregoing account of the laws and religion of the times was necessary, to give a just idea of the change which took place in our city, on its reduction by the arms of Cromwell. With respect to bishop Curle, who, by the actual laws, was now no more than a private clergyman, he had remained in the castle during the late siege; (4) and being included in the capitulation, was permitted to retire unmolested. His hereditary property, however, as well as his revenues, being sequestered; he had no other resource for his subsistence, than the bounty of his sister, who had a house at Soberton, in this county, where this loyal and upright prelate died in 1650. (4) It is true, that the clergy in general were at liberty to continue in the ministry, but it was on the conditions of their subscribing the solemn league and covenant, and of adopting the directory, and the other parts of the Presbyterian worship and discipline: conditions which, of course, many complied with; but the clergy of this city, or at least those of the cathedral, distinguished themselves by their firm adherence to their own religion, and had the honour of being particularly censured as delinquents, by a parliament, which had usurped powers that certainly did not belong to it. (6) Amongst the displaced prebendaries, he that was most in favour with bishop Curle, being the tutor of his children, became a Catholic, (7) as many other distinguished clergymen of the church of England did about

(1) Hist. of Churches, p. 270, 271. (2) Journal of George Fox, by Penn.

(3) Twenty-one priests were put to death between July 1611 and June 1651, and several others were condemned to the same fate.

(4) Richardson, De Præsul. Wood. (5) Wood. (6) Hist. of Ch. vol. III, p. 206.

(7) Viz. Dr. Tho. Gawen, rector of Exton, &c. Athen. Oxon. Dodd's Ch. Hist. vol. III.

the same time, (1) and wrote several tracts of controversy and devotion. (2) Another of the prebendaries was Dr. William Lewis, who had been provost of Oriel college. Nothing could have proved more untoward to the views of our Winchester patriots, than his conforming to the covenant and directory would have been. Happily, however, he proved an unshaken loyalist and churchman, which furnished a pretext for dispossessing him of the rich mastership of St. Cross; a sinecure, which our member of parliament, John Lisle, esq. thought he could manage as well as any clergyman in the kingdom. He accordingly procured it for himself, (3) and enjoyed it, until being called up by Cromwell to the mock house of lords, which he had created, and being otherwise better provided for, this benefice was bestowed on John Cooke, the parliament's solicitor-general, who drew up the indictment against the king at his trial. (4) We have omitted to mention, amongst other measures which took place on the change of religion in this city, the sale of the church lands, belonging to the bishopric and to the dean and chapter. The Presbyterian ministers had made vigorous efforts to obtain all such property for their own use and benefit, and had descanted largely on the heinous guilt of sacrilege; in the same manner that archbishop Cranmer and some of his fellow bishops had done when the monasteries and other ecclesiastical property had been bestowed on the courtiers, in the preceding century: but the long parliament proved as deaf to their repre-

(1) Amongst these were Dr. Godfrey Goodman, bishop of Gloucester; T. Vane, D. D. chaplain to Charles I.; Stephen Gough, D. D. brother to major-general Gough, the regicide; H. Cressy, canon of Windsor, dean of Laughlin, and chaplain to lord Faulkland. He became a benedictine monk, and wrote the learned Church History of Britain, so often quoted in the early part of this work; H. Ireson, LL.D. of All Souls; R. Read, LL.D. of New College; R. Milesent, D.D. archdeacon of Norwich, prebendary of Chichester; R. Crashaw, M. A. the celebrated poet; J. Massey, D. D. dean of C. C.; P. Manby, D. D. dean of Derry; Sir Toby Mathews, son of archbishop Mathews, &c.—Another of our prebendaries, Theodore Price, D.D. and master of St. Cross, had also, in the early part of this reign, viz. in 1631, died in the Catholic communion.

(2) Dodd.

(3) Wood. History of Independancy.

(4) Ibid. History of King-killers.

sentations on this subject, as the duke of Somerset had been to those of the prelates. Accordingly the estates in question were disposed of, for the use of the ruling powers; the sale of them beginning in 1646, and being continued in 1651. (1) As to what concerns our famous college, notwithstanding its known attachment and services to the cause of royalty, and the many memorials of the religion of past ages which it still exhibits; it escaped, to a miracle, the destructive violence both of military barbarians and fanatic sectaries. This preservation is attributed to a conscientious sentiment of a son of Wykeham, an officer in the rebel army; who, recollecting the oath he had taken at his matriculation, interested himself so warmly in behalf of the college, as to protect it from all violence. (2) The same officer is represented as having saved from injury, the beautiful tomb and statue of bishop Wykeham, in the cathedral.

Towards the close of the year 1648, those state hypocrites, who had professed all along to have taken up arms against their king, for the purpose of protecting him from Papists and malignants, being now prepared to throw off the mask, by bringing him to the scaffold, with the mock forms of justice; an action then unprecedented in history, (3) and which filled all Europe with astonishment and horror; Winchester had the satisfaction on the 21st of December, a little more than a month before the catastrophe alluded to took place, of receiving its sovereign; but in a very different situation from that in which she had received so many of his predecessors. In fact he was a prisoner, under a strong guard of horse, which had conducted him from the gloomy castle of Hurst, by the circuitous route of Lyndhurst, Ringwood, and Romsey, to this city, in order to sleep here on

(1) See an account of the sale of these lands in Gale's History, p. 16.

(2) This tradition is carefully kept up in the college, but the officer's name is not known. It was probably colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, brother to lord Say and Sele, who was educated at Winchester college, and admitted to a fellowship at New College, in quality of founder's kin. The influence which he had in the rebel army is well known. Wood's Athen. Oxon.

(3) Agesilaus, king of Lacedemon, was the only instance then known of a similar proceeding against a crowned head, but the Spartan kings were in fact only dependent magistrates.

the first night of his journey to Windsor. (1) "At his entrance therein, the mayor and aldermen of the city did, notwithstanding the times, receive the king with dutiful respect, and the clergy did the like. During his short stay there, the gentry and others of inferior rank, flocked thither in great numbers, to welcome his majesty." (2) Such a reception of a captive king does more honour to Winchester, than all its holiday addresses to successful monarchs put together. About the same time came on, in our city, the trial of the mysterious plot of Ralph, Osbern, and Doucet, for an attempt to free the king from his confinement in Carisbrook castle, in the Isle of Wight. The views of these conspirators, however, were very different; the two latter meant fairly by the royal prisoner, who, in conformity with their plan, had actually sawed an iron bar asunder in a window, which is still shewn amongst the ruins of that fortress: the intention of Ralph was avowedly to have pistoled the king. In so intricate a case, which was still more perplexed by the artifices of serjeant Wild, who tried this cause, and by Ralph's counsel, the jury brought in a bill of *ignoramus*. (3) It did not fare so well with captain Burleigh, a brave but indiscreet inhabitant of the said island; who being tried by the same judge and jury, (4) for a separate attempt to give freedom to his sovereign, was found guilty of high treason, and was accordingly hanged and quartered in this city. (5)

Whilst the government now afloat was tossed to and fro, like a ship without a rudder, until it unavoidably sunk into a more severe despotism, under Cromwell, than had ever been experienced under its lawful sovereign; the Presbyterian ministers growled for more absolute power, and for persecuting laws, (6) until they had lost their tythes, with the exclusive right

(1) Wood's Fasti Oxon. (2) Ibid.

(3) Clarendon's Hist. of Rebel. b. xi.

(4) Ibid. (5) Baker's Chron.

(6) "Days of fasting, on account of the sin of tolerating sectaries, were frequent, and the Presbyterians mourned frequently, because the parliament would not grant them authority to extirpate all such as would not confirm to their mode of church discipline." History of Churches, vol. iii, p. 234.

to the pulpit, and a general toleration was established. (1) The greatest proof of the happiness of Winchester during this time is, that it affords few materials for history. It was no longer a city, its bishopric being abolished and its castles and other fortifications destroyed; as a country town, however, it continued upon a respectable footing. Its magistrates even, who were the same that had governed it during the monarchy, were particularly favoured; as they were most of them named commissioners of the county of Hants, for executing the several acts of parliament which now took place; (2) in conjunction with their representative, John Lisle, esq. the lord Richard Cromwell, Richard Major, John Dunch, and others of the protector's relations and intimate friends. This was not the case with most other cities. The college also continued in perfect peace and security, though certain Presbyterians were appointed its visitors. (3) For this distinction, which we may presume was more or less beneficial to the inhabitants at large, and for the peace of the college, they were undoubtedly indebted to their powerful friends, who happened to be connected with the actual government. These seem to have been, besides those just mentioned, lieutenant-colonel William Gough, one of the regicides, major-general of the county; sir William Waller, who was now in possession of the castle of this city; William Fiennes, lord Say and Sele, and his brother colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, who has been already named; Nicholas Love, esq. another of the regicides, and one of the six clerks in chancery, who was a native of Winchester, being son of Dr. Nicholas Love, some time prebendary of the cathedral, and warden of the college; colonel Desborough, who was also one of the king's judges; and John Cooke, solicitor-general, who acted in that capacity at the said trial, and who, as we have related, was appointed to the mastership of St. Cross, on the promotion of Lisle to be one of the commissioners of the great seal.

(1) Hist. of Churches, vol. III, p. 320, 332, 334. Collier.

(2) Viz. the aldermen Edward Riggs, Thomas Muspratt, John Champion, Edward Hooker, and William Harwood. See act of 1657 for an assessment.

(3) Hist. of Churches, vol. III, p. 342.

Upon the death of Oliver, the most absolute power in this kingdom, and, at that time, in all Europe, devolved upon one, who might be called, in some sense, a Winchester man, inasmuch as his home and chief property were at Marden, within four miles of this city. (1) This was *the most noble lord Richard*, as he had before been called, son of the deceased, but who was now proclaimed lord protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland; in which capacity he received from all the different corporations, &c. more lofty and flattering addresses, with solemn promises of spending their lives

(1) One of the ancient episcopal manors, the ruins of which may still be traced at the upper end of the village of Hursley. This estate fell to Richard Cromwell by his marriage with Dorothy, daughter of Richard Major, alderman of Southampton. The following pedigree of this remarkable family, copied from a mural monument of beautiful marble, in the church of Hursley, where they lie buried, not having been before published, we presume will be acceptable to many readers :—

" This monument was erected to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, spinster, (by Mr. Richard Cromwell, and Thomas Cromwell, her executors). She died the 8th day of April, 1731, in the 82d year of her age, and lies interred near this place. She was the daughter of Richard Cromwell, esq. by Dorothy his wife, who was the daughter of Richard Major, esq. and the following account of her family (all of whom, except Mrs. Ann Gibson, lye in this chancel) is given according to her desire.

" Mrs. Ann Gibson, the sixth daughter, died 7th December, 1727, in the 69th year of her age, and lyes interred with Dr. Thomas Gibson, her husband, (physician-general of the army) in the church-yard belonging to St. George's chappel, in London.—Richard Cromwell, esq. father of the said Elizabeth Cromwell, died 12th July, 1712, in the 80th year of his age.—Oliver Cromwell, esq. son of the said Richard Cromwell, died 11th of May, 1705, in the 49th year of his age.—Mrs. Dorothy Mortimer, a 7th daughter, wife of John Mortimer, esq. died 14th May, 1691, in the 21st year of her age, but left no issue.—Mrs. Dorothy Cromwell, wife of the said Richard Cromwell, died 5th January, 1675, in the 49th year of her age. —Mrs. Ann Major, mother of the said Mrs. Dorothy Cromwell, died 13th June, 1662.—Richard Major, esq. husband of the said Mrs. Ann Major, died 25th April, 1663.—Mrs. Dorothy Cromwell, a fifth daughter, died 13th December, 1650, in the 2d year of her age.—A fourth daughter died 27th May, 1655, in the 1st year of her age.—Mrs. Mary Cromwell, a third daughter, died 24th September, 1654, in the 2d year of her age.—A son of the said Richard and Dorothy Cromwell died 13th December, 1652, in the 1st year of his age.—Mrs. Ann Cromwell, a second daughter, died 14th March, 1651, in the 1st year of her age.—Mr. John Kingswell, father of the said Mrs. Ann Major, died 5th March, 1639.

in his defence, than ever had been presented to the most illustrious of our lawful sovereigns. (1) Richard, however, was of a very different character from his father. He could neither preach nor pray; nor even fight; but he was a boon companion, and almost a royalist, having been accustomed, in his convivial hours, to drink the health of his father's landlord, namely, Charles II. whilst the former was protector. (2) With these dispositions, it is no wonder that he should, after a few months trial of it, have abdicated his father's ill-gotten authority, and even his own academical honours, (3) with the utmost chearfulness; and have preferred his rural pleasures, amidst the secure and peaceful lawns of Hursley, to the bolts and trap-doors of Hampton court and Whitehall. (4) The only thing to be surprised at is, that men of reflection, and even royalists, should appear to despise him for making such a choice! (5) So inconsistent and unfeeling are mankind! Thus they have attached honour to the name of a lion, a cruel animal, that devours them; and ignominy to that of a dog, their ever faithful and watchful sentinel!

The happy event of England's recovering its ancient constitution, by means of the restoration, was greatly owing to a citizen of Winchester,

(1) Wood's Athen. Oxon.—These addresses were long preserved in a large chest at Hursley, on which the deposed protector used often to repose, when in company with his jovial companions, and to boast that he was sitting on the lives and fortunes of most of the men in England.

(2) Athen. Oxon.

(3) He was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford in 1657.—Amongst the many ridiculous, as well as tragical scenes, which the present revolution exhibited, one of the most singular was that which took place at the said university in 1649; when a whole batch of the illiterate and blood-stained ruffians of the parliamentary army insisted upon adding literary to their military honours. Accordingly Joyce, the taylor; Hewson, the shoemaker; Roe, the throwster; Harrison, the butcher; and Okey, the drayman, with others of the same description, were severally elected batchelors of laws, masters of arts, &c. whilst Cromwell himself, as of superior knowledge, as well as dignity, became LL.D. See Fasti Oxon.

(4) These were some of the precautions which Oliver thought himself obliged to take for his personal security,

(5) Clarendon, Hist. Rebel. b. xvi.

whose house and monument we have still amongst us. (1) This was sir John Clobery, colonel of a regiment in general Monk's army, and one of the agents sent up to London by that army to treat with the committee of general safety. (2) His chief merit, however, was in modelling the army itself; and it is admitted that, if general Monk knew better how to treat with the canting politicians of that period, (3) sir John Clobery could better engage the affections of the soldiers, (4) and thereby direct their motions to the grand point, which he and the general had in view. It has been remarked that the services of Clobery, in this grand undertaking, have not been rated by historians according to their merits; (5) the reason probably is, that they were not properly recompensed by the sovereign himself.

To speak now of the fortune of the persons, connected with this city, who had borne a distinguished part in the late usurpation: The ex-protector, Richard Cromwell, at first thought it necessary to retire into France, whence he afterwards passed into Switzerland; but, being satisfied by the act of indemnity and other assurances, that he might live in perfect security in his own country, he returned thither, and resided chiefly upon his estate at Hursley, where, as we have already stated, he was buried, having died at Cheshunt, in 1712. (6) Sir William Waller having, fortunately for

(1) Almost all the spacious mansion called Clobery-house, in Parchment-street, has, within these late years, been taken down, in order to erect the new county hospital on the site of it. An old Saxon door-way, however, and some other parts of it, still remain. His elegant epitaph and inelegant monument, the former of which records the share that he had in the restoration, are entire in the cathedral, and will be noticed in our Survey. Near him lie his only son and two of his daughters.

(2) Guthrie's Hist. of England, vol. III.

(3) The following extract from Monk's letter to the parliament, is a specimen of the style, which even politicians and warriors adopted in public business:—"You are the people who have filled the world with wonders; but nothing is impossible to faith—We see God's hour is come, and the time of his people's deliverance, even the set time is at hand. He cometh skipping over the mountains of sin and unworthiness. We beseech you not to heal the wounds of the daughter of God's people slightly, &c." Hist. of Churches, vol. III, p. 359.

(4) Guthrie, Hist. vol. III. (5) Ibid.

(6) Fasti Oxon. History of King-killers. Tindal.

himself, quarrelled with his masters in the parliament, and having been, more than once, committed to prison, by them or by Cromwell, retrieved his character with the royalists; and if he did not gain any thing at the Restoration, yet we are positively assured that he was no loser by that event. (1) This implies that Winchester castle, though the undoubted property of sir Henry Tichborne, was not taken from him. Indeed it was the mistaken and fatal policy of Charles II. to bestow favours upon his enemies by way of bribing them to be loyal; and to neglect his friends, trusting that their consciences would not permit them to be otherwise. On the other hand, the Catholics, with the penal laws in force, and sometimes executed against them, (2) were in the situation of the crane in the fable; which, having withdrawn a bone out of the throat of the wolf, that choaked him, and asking for a reward, was answered: It is reward enough that I did not bite your neck asunder. It is true, indeed, that this sir Henry was made lieutenant of the New Forest; (3) but it is also true, that he and his descendants continued to keep up their just claim to the castle of Winchester, and that the justice of this claim was admitted by the sovereign. (4) Love, Gough, and Lisle fled to the Continent, and there remained till their death. (5) Lisle had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the royalists, as having, amongst his other offices, been president of, what was called, the high court of justice, and, in that quality, condemned to death a great number of their most gallant friends, as sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewet, colonel Ashton, colonel Penruddock, &c. (6) He provoked them still more by affecting the robes and dignity of chancellor of England; insomuch that three violent Irishmen

(1) Athen. Oxon.

(2) Twelve priests were actually put to death for the mere exercise of their religion in this reign, Charles not daring to save them, though inwardly of the same persuasion, as appeared upon his death-bed: besides ten other Catholic priests or laymen, sacrificed in that most infamous state trick, called Oates's Plot.

(3) Baronetage.

(4) MSS.

(5) Wood. Hist. of King-killers.

(6) Wood, &c.

of their party, who were witnesses to this impudent imposture, at Lausanne, in Switzerland, which was the general haunt of that party; actually assassinated him, as he was going in state to church, accompanied by the magistrates: an action which was much more worthy of the king's enemies than of his friends. One of them shot him, and the other two trampled upon his body with their horses feet; after which they all three rode away unmolested into one of the neighbouring states. (1) His widow, Mrs. Ann Lisle, vulgarly called, from his mock title, lady Lisle, continued to reside in Winchester or its neighbourhood until the next reign, when we shall again have occasion to mention her. The only person connected with this city, who actually suffered the penalties of high treason on this occasion, was the master of St. Crosss, John Cooke, solicitor at the king's trial, and chief justice of Ireland. He pleaded that he had not contrived the king's death, but had only acted in the way of his profession; but this plea was over-ruled, and he was adjudged to suffer the penalties of high treason. Not one of the regicides died with more enthusiastic firmness, or presumptuous confidence, than he did. So far from lamenting the share which he had taken in the late king's death, and in destroying the peace of three kingdoms, with the rapine, slaughter, and other human miseries, which he had thereby contributed to occasion; he repeatedly boasted, in his last speech, that he had "done nothing amiss," that he "desired never to repent of any thing he had done, that he died to bear witness to the cause of God, and that such a sight as his death was the most glorious in the world, next to that of Christ upon the cross." (2) In the full confidence of joining Brook, Ireton, Hampden, and Pickering, who, he says, had suffered active martyrdom from the same cause; (3) he was impatient for the arrival of the sheriff, who was to conduct him to the scaffold, exclaiming, in scriptural language: what stayeth the wheels of this chariot? why do they drive so slowly? (4) To-

(1) Wood.—Bevil Higgons denies that they had horses, but says they re-embarked in the boat, which had brought them from the other side of the lake of Geneva.

(2) Dying Speeches of State Prisoners, p. 242.

(3) Cooke's Letter to a Friend, ibid. p. 247

(4) Ibid. p. 241. Grey's Exam. vol. IV.

gether with him died, though not with equal firmness, Hugh Peters, the most frantic and blood-thirsty of all the late enthusiastic preachers. They were executed October 16, 1660, within the paling at Charing-cross, and in sight of Whitehall, where Charles had been beheaded; after which Cooke's head was erected on a pole, over the north-east end of Westminster-hall. (1)

Upon the restoration of monarchy to Britain, Winchester recovered its dignity as a bishopric; of which it had been deprived ten years, ever since the death of bishop Curle. The person chosen by his majesty to fill this high station was his ancient tutor, Dr. Brian Duppa, then 70 years of age; who had been successively bishop of Chichester and Salisbury, but who had withdrawn himself, and lived in the greatest obscurity, at Richmond, in Surry, during the late troubles. He was confirmed bishop of Winchester October 14, 1660. (2) The cathedral chapter was also restored in this same year; Dr. Alexander Hide being appointed dean, through the interest of his kinsman, lord chancellor Hide, afterwards earl of Clarendon, (3) who also procured for him the bishopric of Salisbury; and the vacant stalls were filled up with five new prebendaries. Finally, Dr. Lewis recovered his mastership of St. Cross. (4) It was not, however, until August 24, 1662, that the church of England can be considered as absolutely restored; the Presbyterian and other dissenting ministers, whose ordination as well as doctrine was rejected by that church, (5) being so long left in possession of their livings. But on that day, by virtue of the act of uniformity, passed in the same year, all the clergy in general were required, under pain of deprivation, to read the book of common prayer in their several congregations; and after reading the same, solemnly to "declare their unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained in and prescribed in and by the said book." Previous to this, another solemn declaration was required of them, by the authority of the same

(1) Hist. of King-killers.

(2) Richardson, De Præsul.

(3) Athen. Oxon.

(4) Gale's List.

(5) By the tenor of the act of uniformity, no orders were admitted, but such as had been conferred by a bishop.

parliament, as it was also of all magistrates, officers, vestrymen, &c. swearing the "unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, upon any pretence whatsoever, and that there lay no obligation of keeping the oath called the solemn league and covenant."(1) The clergy of the established church having thus got the entire possession of the churches, began to repair the devastations which their adversaries had committed in them, and to restore them to their former state and appearance. In our city of Winchester, the cathedral was naturally an object of the first consideration. The remains of the ancient kings, bishops, and other personages, respectable for their sanctity or their dignity, which had been sacrilegiously invaded and scattered about by the fanatics, were carefully gathered together, and placed in two of the mortuary chests over the presbytery. (2) The windows and other defaced parts of the building were repaired. The statues of the two late monarchs, James and Charles, were replaced in their nitches; the chancel again raised, and enclosed with a rich well-carved balustrade; the altar-table restored to its former situation, against the eastern skreen, over which was suspended a large canopy, exhibiting the emblematic pelican, with other ornaments in rich and bold carving.

Brian Duppa died before the act of uniformity took effect, and was succeeded in the same year, viz. 1662, by Dr. George Morley, translated hither from Worcester. "He was a man," says a writer of the same high church principles with himself, "of thorough tried loyalty, not of the number of the temporizers, who had learned to shift their principles, so as to be ready to receive any revolution or turn of affairs that might happen, aud always to stand fair for promotion." (3) He had been one of the late king's commissioners at the famous treaty of Uxbridge; and after suffering exile with his present sovereign, had assisted, by his commands, at the conferences held with the dissenters at the Savoy. Nor was he less distinguished for his learning, munificence, and austerity of life, eating but once in the 24 hours, rising every morning, in the

(1) 13 Car. II.
(2) See the inscriptions on the same.
(3) Wood, Athen. Oxon.

coldest weather, and without a fire at five o'clock. (1) Amongst his other public works, he ornamented this city with an episcopal palace, in place of the demolished castle of Wolvesey; he repaired Farnham castle at a very great expence, and bought Chelsea house as a town residence for the bishops of Winchester, instead of the house in Southwark, which had been sold and portioned out into small dwellings, in the rebellion. (2) Finally, he built and endowed the widow's college on the north side of the cathedral churchyard, for the support of clergymen's widows, though he himself continued unmarried all his life; which accounts for his emulating the deeds of his predecessors in ancient times, and being enabled to execute such great public works. He died at Farnham castle in 1684, aged 87, and was interred in the cathedral of this city, opposite to the chantry of Edington. (3)

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon.—This author says, that "he assisted the gallant Arthur lord Capel, as *his confessor*, before his execution, in 1648."—Burnet says, (Hist. of his own Times, vol. 1, p. 178) that he was accustomed to receive the private confessions of the duchess of York, whose chaplain he was, and who "was by him carefully principled in the doctrine of the Protestant faith, yet died in the faith of the Roman church." Wood, ibid.

(2) During the latter part of his episcopacy, this prelate had a steward or seneschal, whose history is too remarkable to be here omitted. This was F. Peter Walsh, an Irish Franciscan friar. There being great disputes in Ireland, concerning a form of allegiance, to be presented to the crown, called *The Remonstrance;* Walsh, with his colleague, F. Redmond Caron, was the most active in the kingdom in its defence, pretending to be actuated by the purest zeal for the interests of his countrymen. At length, upon the duke of Ormond's resignation of the government of Ireland, it was clearly discovered that Walsh had been his tool in raising divisions amongst the people. He was accordingly rewarded by ministry with a pension of 100*l.* per ann. and recommended to Morley, or perhaps forced upon him, as his seneschal.

(3) Richardson. Wood.—To finish the ecclesiastical transactions of this reign, it is proper to mention, that about the year 1668, the Quakers made their first appearance in this city, where some of George Fox's head disciples and companions seem to have established themselves. He complains much, in his journal, of certain schismatical friends in these parts, who, moved by a different spirit from his own, had "run into ranterism," as he calls it. Two of these, a man and a woman, after prophecying a second destruction of London by fire, came by way of saving themselves to Southampton; and there having abandoned themselves to a scandalous course of life, boasted of the same at the market cross in Winchester. Being committed to the gaol of this city, the man stabbed the keeper, and some time after-

Nor were the civil and commercial interests of Winchester less benefited by the Restoration than those of the church. For now that great and important work, which had been so long and so earnestly called for by the friends of the city, (1) the restoration of its navigation was taken up and warmly pursued. Accordingly an act of parliament was procured, (2) investing a company of public spirited individuals (3) with the powers necessary to carry it on; but, at the same time, obliging them to complete it by November 1, 1671, and restricting them from requiring for the carriage of any goods to and from the sea at Southampton, more than half the price required for land carriage. (4)

But the benefit of this and other improvements, which were then in agitation, was retarded by two of the greatest calamities to which mankind

wards hanged himself; and the woman attempted to cut a child's throat. The father of Quakerism shews himself anxious that these ranters should not be considered as his children; whilst it is self-evident that their running into ranterism, was the immediate consequence of the enthusiastic principle which he had set up, namely, that each person is to be guided by a private spirit of his own. The conduct of George Fox himself, though less flagitious, was as extravagant and ranting as that of his schismatical disciples. He was accustomed to go into the steeple-houses, viz. the parish churches, and call out to the preacher: *come down thou deceiver*. He wrote several letters to the grand Turk and to the King, in one of which he tells *Friend Charles*, that if he permits such abominations as the setting up of May poles, the whole nation will be overturned like Sodom and Gomorrah. In a word, he foretold, with prophetic assurance, that the whole world was on the point of being converted to Quakerism; which prediction is also repeated by the celebrated Barclay, in his Apology for the Quakers.—Amongst the disciples of Fox, "Wm. Sympson was moved of the Lord to go several times, for three years, naked and barefooted, before the professors (the Presbyterians), in markets courts, and towns, as a sign to them. R. Huntingdon was moved of the Lord to go in a white sheet into Carlisle steeple house, to shew them that the surplice was coming in." See the Journal, &c. of George Fox, written by William Penn, folio.

(1) Trussel's MSS. (2) An. 16 & 17. Car. II.

(3) Their names were sir Humphrey Bennet, knight; Wm. Swann and Nic. Oudart, esqrs; Robert Holmes, John Lloyd, John Lawson, and Wm. Holmes, gent. By the same act they were authorised to open the navigation of the Test River to Romsey and Stockbridge, the stream running from Bishop's Waltham into the sea, &c.

(4) Act 16 & 17. Car. II.

is subject, war and pestilence. The former of these, which broke out in 1664, against the United States, promised some advantage, by the expenditure of public money, for the support of the numerous Dutch prisoners taken by the duke of York, in his engagement with admiral Opdam, and kept here in 1665; but, upon the whole, the war was certainly detrimental to the rising trade and commerce of Winchester, and the very circumstance of the prisoners being confined here, proved the destruction of one of our remaining establishments and venerable monuments of antiquity. This was the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, upon the hill of that name; which, being judged proper for a prison of war, the poor inhabitants were ordered by government to evacuate it, and to provide lodgings for themselves in the city. (1) The consequence was, that the building was so much defaced and injured by the prisoners, who burnt whatever wood and timber belonging to it they could lay their hands upon; that the brethren could never afterwards reside in their house, which has dwindled away ever since, until little more than a mere memorial of it is standing at present.

But the plague proved infinitely more destructive to this city, as well as to the nation in general, than the war; and, like the war, was derived from Holland. (2) This dreadful calamity broke out in the metropolis in May 1665, where it produced such ravages on the human species, that its inhabitants still shudder at the name of it. At first these western counties were thought to be the most free from danger; accordingly the king came hither to avoid it, though, for his greater security, he proceeded on to Salisbury. Very soon afterward, however, viz. early in the year 1666, (3)

(1) We borrow these particulars from the late Mr Wavel's account of Magdalen Hospital, in the Anonymous History of Winchester, being the only part of that work which he is admitted by his friends to have written. It is to be observed, that Mr. Wavel was master of this Hospital, and therefore may be supposed to have been well acquainted with the recent facts relating to it.

(2) It is said to have been imported from thence in a bale of cotton.

(3) Warton, Description, &c. p. 34, says that the plague broke out here in 1668; the anonymous Hist. of Winchester, vol. II, p. 131, says towards the end of 1668.—It is easy to prove the chronological error of both these authors, in this particular, from their own

the destroying angel bent his course this way, and seems no where to have dealt his vengeance more fatally, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, than in this our city. The dead were here, no less than in London, carried out by cart loads at a time, and buried on the eastern downs; as the turfy mounds there still indicate. Almost all trade and mutual intercourse were now at an end, nor was it without great difficulty, that the necessaries of life were procured, and the third great calamity, famine, was averted; by inducing the country people to bring their provisions to a weekly market, which was held, with all the jealous precautions possible, upon a rising ground, beyond the west gate, where the obelisk is now erected. The custom was for the buyers and sellers to keep at a considerable distance from each other, whilst they made their bargains; which done, the commodities were left by the country people upon a large flat stone, now forming the basis of the obelisk, and fetched away by the inhabitants; who, in return, threw the money agreed upon into a vessel of water, provided for that purpose. (1)

statements, particularly from the latter work, where it is expressly said, the plague was in Winchester, "if not in 1665, at least in March 1666." Vol. II, p. 207.—But this fact, viz. that the plague raged here in 1666, is demonstratively proved from public records, particularly from MSS. Col.

(1) Most of the circumstances here related are derived from the traditionary accounts of the inhabitants.—Upon the ceasing of the contagion, the surviving inhabitants, in a spirit of benevolence and charity, highly to their credit, formed themselves into a society for the relief of the distressed orphans and widows of the deceased, which society has been continued ever since, for similar purposes of charity, under the title of the Natives' Society. In 1759 they erected the obelisk, which has been mentioned above, and which will be further noticed in our Survey. When this society had subsisted about fifty years, a jealousy arising, similar to that which took place in the church of Jerusalem, between the native Jewish Christians and the Hellenists, concerning an alleged partiality in the distribution of the collections; another charitable institution was formed, under the title of the Aliens' Society, whose chief object is to apprentice poor children of the town, of whomsoever born. They likewise hold their annual meetings, and boast of having upon their list a great number of persons, who, by their means, have risen to opulence and consequence, and who have proved valuable members to society.

Charles, who had been a great traveller in foreign dominions, was very fond of surveying his own. The western progress was his favourite journey; and Winchester, of all others, the spot to which he gave the preference as a fixed place of residence. This choice, in a prince of his acknowledged taste and discernment, who was well acquainted with every part of this kingdom, and with a considerable part of the continent, is not a little to the credit of this renowned seat of his ancestors. The king had paid frequent visits to our city, accompanied by his brother James, during the course of his reign; (1) on which occasions he took up his residence in the deanery: (2) at length, in 1682, he came to the resolution of making Winchester his ordinary residence, when public business did not require his presence in London; (3) and, for this purpose, of building himself a

(1) Magna Britannia, or new Survey of Great Britain, in six volumes, 1720, vol. II.

(2) He is said to have added the new brick building at the south end of the great hall, for the accommodation of Mrs. E. Gwynn.

(3) Towards the latter end of his reign, Charles became more and more disgusted with the residence of his capital and its neighbourhood; as that was the chief scene of those party violences which embittered his life, and forced him to send his best friends to prison and to the scaffold, in order to gratify his worst enemies. This was particularly the case in 1678, 1679, and 1680, whilst the nation was under the delirium of Oates's sham plot. By means of this, such men as Shaftesbury, Sidney, Armstrong, Waller, &c. who had been nurtured in the grand rebellion, and who, four years after, concerted a real plot for destroying the king and government, affected the purest loyalty, and the most ardent zeal for their preservation; whilst, on the other hand, such stanch and tried royalists as sir Henry Tichborne, the lords Arundel, Powis, and Stafford, who had risked their lives and fortunes in the king's defence against those very men, were imprisoned, and the last of them executed, for pretended treason. Never was a fiction so extravagantly absurd as this plot, taken with all its circumstances, solemnly sworn to; never were witnesses so infamous in their characters, or so manifestly perjured, by their contradictory evidence, admitted into a court of justice, as were Oates, Bedloe, Prance, &c.; never were such allurements, and such violences made use of to pervert the course of evidence, and to force witnesses into perjury, in any cause, as were put in practice by that infamous Achitophel, the earl of Shaftesbury, in this. With respect to the sufferer connected with this city, sir Henry Tichborne, the proprietor of the castle, it seems that he was constituted, by the gang of informers, a sort of commissary general of their two famous armies in disguise, one consisting of 30,000 pilgrims, who were

palace on the spot where the former royal castle had stood. He began by securing to himself the ground on which the edifice was to be erected. This was at present claimed by the mayor and corporation, but upon what ground does not distinctly appear. It is true the mayor had sometimes, in former ages, as we have mentioned, (1) been appointed warden or constable of the castle; it was also, strictly speaking, incumbent on the magistrates to keep this, with all the other fortifications of the city, in repair: (2) hence might arise certain rights or privileges with respect to the premises, but certainly no just claim to the property of them. What seems probable is, that sir William Waller, son to the general of that name, who died in poverty and obscurity near London, having sold the county-hall, then situated within the walls of the castle, to certain feoffees, in trust for the

to land from St. Jago's in Spain; the other of 40,000 invisible papists, then ready to act in and about London. It happened however in this, as in an infinite number of other particulars, that the testimony of Bedloe, which particularly affected sir Henry, was contradictory to itself. On Coleman's trial he swore that "sir Henry told him that he had brought a commission from the pope and the jesuits for the said gentleman, as well as for the Catholic lords, but that he did not know the title of it, not having seen it." On the trial of Langhorne he swore that "sir Henry had actually shewn him those commissions, signed by the general of the jesuits and sealed with their seal." Whether it was owing to this inconsistency in the intended evidence, which had incidentally appeared, that the managers of the plot did not venture to bring sir Henry to his trial; or that the king himself contrived to keep off the trials of the Catholic prisoners of condition, until the public prejudices had been glutted with the blood of jesuits and other persons of inferior rank, and until the infamy of the *Saviour of the Nation*, as Oates was termed, with the other traffickers in blood, became known: certain it is, that the aforesaid gentleman, who was a rare example of private innocence and piety, as well as of public loyalty and virtue, remained unmolested in the Tower, with the Catholic lords, except the earl of Stafford, until the beginning of 1684; when the real enemies of the king and government having become manifest, by the discovery of the assassination plot, the court ventured to discharge them upon their bail; all except lord Petre, who had been delivered from his imprisonment by death a month before. About a year after after his enlargement, sir Henry was constituted, by James II. lieutenant of the ordinance, and died about the time of the revolution.—Mystery of the death of sir E. B. Godfrey unfolded, and Observator, by sir R. L'Estrange, Echard, Dodd, Dalrymple, Baronetage, &c.

(1) See p. 271. (2) See p. 236, 306, &c.

use of the county of Hants, (1) disposed of the rest of the castle to the mayor and corporation. But then we have seen that sir William Waller the elder had no just title to the premises, they having been bestowed upon him in the late rebellion, as a reward for the share which he had borne in it, to the prejudice of the right heirs of it, the Tichbornes. However, be the matter as it may, certain it is, that a deed of conveyance passed between the city and the crown, bearing date March 17, 1682, by the tenor of which Richard Harris, esq. recorder of the city, William Craddock, Edmund Fyfield, and William Taylor, aldermen, with three other citizens, authorized for this purpose, sell to his majesty and his heirs, in consideration of the sum of five shillings, "the said castle as it stands defaced and erazed, with the walls, stones, and other loose materials belonging to it, as likewise the castle green and ditch, containing by estimation eight acres." (2) On the other hand, the castle, as we have intimated, was claimed by sir Henry Tichborne, the undoubted proprietor of it, who had resided in it, and defended it for Charles I. when it was besieged and taken by Oliver Cromwell. (3) It is plain that the king acknowledged the justice of his title, as he afterwards made a real, not a nominal purchase of his right to the premises, for a valuable consideration. (4) Sir Christopher Wren was appointed architect, who drew a plan and an elevation for the whole building, partly upon the model of Versailles, in a style of royal magnificence. (5) This being approved of, the king himself laid the foundation stone of the edifice, March 23, 1683, (6) and the work was carried on with the greatest ardour, Charles himself, with his brother the duke of York, being frequently here for a considerable

(1) Deed of Conveyance. City Records. (2) Ibid.

(3) Baronetage. Dodd's Ch. Hist.

(4) The price agreed upon not having been paid in Charles's life time, and the work being suspended at his death, the times also becoming troublesome, the Tichborne family were unable afterwards to recover it; hence they considered themselves as the rightful landlords of the king's house.

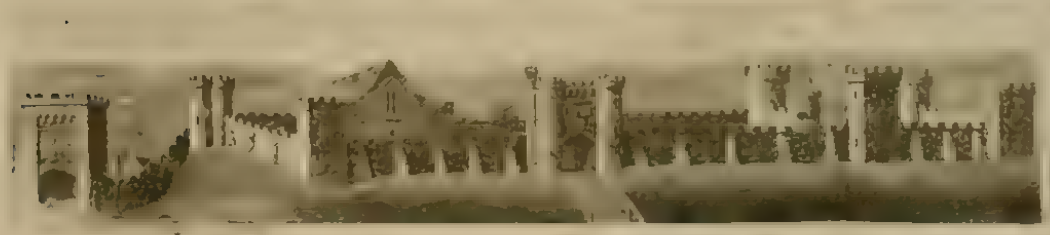
(5) See our plate, from the drawing of sir C. Wren. (6) Magn. Brit. vol. II.

time together, to inspect the building, and from hence making excursions to Portsmouth, and hunting parties into the New Forest. (1) In the mean time Winchester, with its magistrates and inhabitants in general, wore a face of pleasure and importance, to which it had been for several hundred years a stranger. His majesty condescending to accept of the freedom of the city, this was voted to him Sept. 1, 1682; (2) in return for which vote he made the corporation a present of that beautiful and valuable portrait of himself, at full length, in his robes, painted by sir Peter Lely, which is still seen in the great room of St. John's house. The first peers of the realm, excited by the king's example, now pressed forward for the honour of being admitted freemen of Winchester. The duke of York was received at the same time with his royal brother; afterwards the dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's, (3) with other illustrious personages, became members of the corporation. However, what the nobility and gentry, who attended upon the court, were still more anxious about, than to be enregistered in the roll of freemen of Winchester; was to procure houses, suitable to their rank, in the city itself, or in its neighbourhood. Accordingly a great number of elegant buildings were now raised in Winchester, and many more planned. The duchess of Portsmouth (4) finished out of hand a house for herself, it St. Peter's-street; and bishop Morley, at the same time, rebuilt his palace mentioned above; both under the direction of sir Christopher Wren. The great school of the college was also erected about this time, together with the warden's apartments, and the chapel fitted up in its present state. (5) Many other houses about the city bear intrinsic marks of the date and style of that period. But these erections were inconsiderable, compared with the houses that were projected in the neighbourhood of the palace, and in the magnificent street that was planned to extend from thence in a direct line to the west end of the cathedral. This scene of business causing a great conflux of strangers of

(1) Dalrymple's Memoirs. City Records.
(2) City Records.
(3) Viz. Sept. 8, 1684. City Records.
(4) Madame de Queroualle.
(5) MS. Col.



East View of the Queens House and the adjoining Offices as intended to have been finished by Sir Christopher Wren



West View of the Ancient Castle of Winchester



East View of the Ancient Castle of Winchester

all ranks, labourers and poor persons, as well as the opulent and grandees; proper regulations were made for cleansing, lighting, and watching the streets, and for repairing the highways, as likewise for preventing exorbitant charges for lodging, (1) and the necessaries of life. (2)

Had the royal palace that was now begun, been finished according to sir Christopher Wren's plan, with its offices and the houses for the nobility, for which the ground was actually procured, (3) as also for the intended park (4) at the back of it, communicating with the most beautiful downs, and the finest sporting country in the kingdom; there is no doubt but that, as Winchester would have been by many degrees the most magnificent and complete of all the royal residences, so it would have become the Versailles of England, and at least, the second place of consequence in it. But, lo! in the midst of these great undertakings and brilliant expectations, Charles is carried off by a sudden fate Feb. 6, 1685, and with him expire all the hopes of Winchester's attaining to her former greatness.

The short reign of Charles's ill-fated brother and successor, James II. was

(1) It having been stated that his majesty, his royal consort, and his brother the duke of York, intended to reside a considerable time in Winchester; it was ordered that the inhabitants should keep lights before their houses, in the night time, that the streets should be kept clean and guarded by watchmen, the highways leading to the city repaired, and that a moderate demand should be made for lodging. Substance of Orders in the City Records.

(2) Repeated regulations were now made for settling the price of provisions, which are not so much below the present prices, as might have been expected at the distance of above a century. The following articles, with their prices, have been selected from one of the tables in question:—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Butter, per pound	0	6	Goose	2	6
Rabbits, the couple	1	4	Best hens, per couple	2	0
Lobsters, per pound	0	8	Capons, ditto	2	6
Salmon, ditto	0	10	Chine of beef, per pound	0	3
Prawns, per hundred	0	4	Ditto mutton, ditto	0	4
Eels, per pound	0	4	Ditto pork, ditto	0	3
Pigeons, per dozen	2	0	Ditto veal, ditto	0	3

(3) Magna Brit.

(4) Ibid.

too turbulent to permit him to think of building new palaces. Accordingly the great works which had been carried on in our city during the two last years, and which had already cost 25,000*l.* were suspended, almost as soon as the accession of a new king was known. The order for proclaiming him at Winchester was addressed to Bernard Howard, esq. of the noble family of Norfolk, who resided at Winchester; (1) and by him was communicated to the mayor. (2) Scarcely was James seated on the throne, when one of the illegitimate sons of the late king, James Crofts, duke of Monmouth, who had lately been involved in a conspiracy against his father, (3) now broke out into open rebellion against his uncle. The forces with which he landed at Lime, in Dorsetshire, were very inconsiderable, but he had great promises of support from many places in the west, particularly from Lymington, the mayor of which, colonel Thomas Dore, proclaimed him king, and raised a troop of 100 men for his service; (4) but most of all from Taunton, in Somersetshire, which had, in a former reign, been considered as a place particularly turbulent and disaffected. (5) Monmouth had also his partisans, the remnant of the old republicans, in our city; who were ready with their horses, to join him, whenever it should become safe for them to do so. (6) But the duke failing in his attempt upon Bristol, was afterwards defeated upon Sedgemore, in the country where his influence was the greatest. Thence endeavouring to effect his escape privately to his friend, the mayor of Lymington, he was taken prisoner in the New Forest, upon the borders of this county. (7) Now began, throughout the

(1) He lies buried in the Catholic burying-ground, called St. James's, with an honourable epitaph to record his memory.

(2) City Records.

(3) The assassination or Rye-house plot. Hence he is the hero of Dryden's beautiful poem of Absalom and Achitophel.

(4) Magna Brit. vol. II, p. 849.

(5) Dalrymple's Memoirs.

(6) Certain great warehouses for stowing wool, in Parchment-street and near Durn-gate, are reported, by local tradition, to have been used as stables for the horses intended for that service.

(7) Magna Brit.

theatre of the late rebellion, those disgusting scenes of bloodshed on the scaffold, which, in a civil war, are sure to follow the carnage of the field. Only one execution, however, took place at the assizes for the county of Hants, held in our city; but two circumstunces render that execution peculiarly odious: the jury were overawed, and the snbject of it was an old woman of 70 years of age. This was Mrs. Alicia Lisle, vulgarly called lady Lisle, widow of the famous regicide and member of parliament for this city, John Lisle, esq. It is vain to pretend that she was actually innocent of the crime laid to her charge, that of harbouring known rebels;(1) nevertheless, as the jury professed themselves not to be satisfied with the evidence brought against her, the conduct of lord chief justice Jeffreys, a violent and unfeeling man, who tried this and the other causes of the same nature, was unjust and illegal, in sending back the jury, when they acquitted her, three several times, to consider of their verdict; and thus,

(1) The persons whom she concealed, viz. Hicks, the dissenting preacher, and Nelthorpe, the lawyer, were both actively concerned in the Rye-house or the assassination plot, as well as in the rebellion of Monmouth; and *a proclamation was then out against the latter*, offering 100*l.* for apprehending him. After the battle of Sedgemore the former of these, by message, *besought Mrs. Lisle's protection*, which she afforded them. Colonel Penruddock, of Wiltshire, son of that colonel Penruddock, who had been condemned to death by Mrs. Lisle's husband, then Oliver Cromwell's chief justice, was in search of these very men; and could have apprehended them sooner than he did; but probably having good information of their intention, and being actuated by resentment for the murder of his father, he waited until they were actually harboured in Mrs. Lisle's house. He then demanded to have them delivered up as rebels, and the lady *denying that any such persons were in her house*, he proceeded to search it, where he actually found them. In such circumstances, it is impossible to suppose she could be ignorant of the predicament in which these men stood. Hicks was her acquaintance and one of her pastors, and there was evi ence, in her own hand-writing, though not produced upon the trial, that she was not unacquainted with the history of Nelthorpe. These circumstances, collected from her professed advocates Burnet, Guthrie, and Rapin, but chiefly from the last speech, composed for her, and which she delivered in writing to the sheriff, are sufficient to satisfy the inquisitive reader concerning the actual guilt of this lady; but they have nothing to do with the justice of her trial, or the evidence that was then brought against her.

in a manner, forcing them to bring her in guilty. (1) The king was solicited for a pardon in her behalf, but in this, as well as in many other things, he was ill-advised by his ministers. He refused to let an old lady, turned of 70 years, who had it not in her power to hurt him, die a natural death; and he gave his life to colonel Dore, who was aftewards active in dethroning him. (2) The only mercy which he shewed to Mrs. Lisle was to exchange her sentence of burning into that of beheading, which was accordingly executed upon a scaffold, erected in the market-place of this city, September 2, 1685, (3) In the same month that this execution took place, the king made an excursion to Winchester, of which he speaks in his familiar correspondence with the prince of Orange, (4) who professed the greatest zeal for the service of his father-in-law, offering even to come over and take the field against his enemies; (5) and there is reason to suppose that he was sincere in the sentiments which he professed: so little do we know our neighbours; so little do we know ourselves! The late king, at the time of his death, was seized of the charters of London, and those of most other cities; (6) these were restored by the reigning monarch. The charter of

(1) Father Orleans, who had many opportunities of conversing with James II. after his deposition, relates, that this prince declared himself to have remained long a stranger to many circumstances of injustice and cruelty, exercised at this time by judge Jeffreys, and still more by colonel Kirk; otherwise that he should certainly have expressed his displeasure, and put an effectual stop to them. The former of these died at the very time of the revolution; the latter was employed by king William, and distinguished himself against James at the siege of Londonderry. (2) Magna Brit.

(3) Wood. State Trials, &c.—Warton and the Anonymous Historian, amongst other errors concerning this affair, say that she was actually burnt; not to mention printed accounts, the tradition of the city was sufficient to have informed them better.

(4) Dalrymple's Memoirs.

(5) Ibid. Echard, &c.

(6) Though this was considered as a violent measure at the time when it was adopted, yet it was extremely common in former days, as we have remarked in the course of this history. The truth is, charters, not being the general laws of the kingdom, but rather exemptions from such laws, as they were granted by the royal will; so they used to be suspended or abrogated by the same.

Winchester, however, had not then been called for, Charles being probably unwilling to raise the least jealousy in a place which was so much devoted to him; but now a *Quo Warranto* was issued to know by what right this city claimed an exemption from the general laws of the kingdom. This, after some demur, caused the production of the original charter. It seems, however, as if the demand had been made only that it might be precisely known what the privileges and regulations contained in the charter actually were; as it was soon after returned in the same state, and with a fresh confirmation, which is the last honour of this sort, so frequent in former days, that this city has received.

Religion was the hinge upon which most public transactions, and even the fate of kingdoms, turned in the last century. All men were then violently zealous for some system or other; though, even in this, they were generally influenced by party principles, not by motives of conscience. Had the reigning king agreed with the generality of his subjects, in the point of religion, it is doubtful whether any reign, since the Conquest, would have been more prosperous or popular than his. Both the royal brothers were attached to the faith which had been originally preached in this country. Charles from political motives had dissembled his religious sentiments, until a mortal sickness obliged him to declare them. (1) James acted a more honourable and conscientious part. He avowed his faith, but, at the same time, declared his abhorrence of every kind of constraint upon the consciences of others, and his fixed resolution of supporting the establishment protected by the laws; (2) but still so as to afford complete toleration to other commmunions. His conduct was throughout conformable to this declaration. In 1685 the edict of Nantz, which tolerated Protestants in France, being revoked, and great numbers of that persuasion flying to

(1) See the account of his reconciliation, drawn up by the Rev. J. Huddlestone, the priest of Moseley, who had concealed him in his own hiding place, and had been greatly instrumental in saving him after the battle of Worcester. Dodd, vol. III, p. 229. Dalrymple.

(3) See his speech in council, at his accession, also that to both houses of parliament, May 22, 1685. Life of James II. Guthrie.

this city and neighbourhood, amongst other places on the southern coast; James afforded them every kind of protection and favour in his power: contributing out of his own purse to their relief, setting on foot a general subscription for the same purpose, and causing them to be naturalized free of expence. (1) Thus protected and encouraged, many of them, in this city, but still more at Southampton, rose to opulence and consequence, which their posterity still enjoy. The king expected to find the same spirit of liberality and toleration in his subjects, which he himself possessed; but the event proved, that in prosecuting his favourite scheme of uniting an established church with universal religious liberty, he built too much on his civil prerogative, too much on his ecclesiastical supremacy, as the legal head of the church of England, and too much on the avowed doctrine of that church, concerning passive obedience and non-resistance. (2) But, in all these points he was deceived by the judges, the divines, and the ministers whom he employed. (3) In short, he endeavoured to enforce his

(1) Guthrie, vol. iv, p. 898.

(2) By the act of uniformity, every clergyman, schoolmaster, magistrate, &c. was obliged to subscribe to this doctrine, before he could be admitted to the exercise of his office. So late as the year 1684, the university of Oxford had solemnly condemned, as *damnable doctrines*, the positions, that there is a mutual compact between the king and the people; that the power of the former is derived from the latter; and that it is lawful to resist government in any case whatsoever, &c. The Cambridge address to the king, made at the same time, contains the same doctrine. Collier's Ecc. Hist. part ii, p. 902. Rapin.—When the duke of Monmouth was executed, the clergy who attended him, namely, Kenn, bishop of Bath and Wells; Turner, bishop of Ely; Tennison, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; and Dr. Hooper, assured him, that "to be a member of the church of England, he must acknowledge, in particular, the doctrine of non-resistance." Life of James II. p. 118. Rapin.—When lord Russel was executed, in the former reign, even bishop Burnet, and Tillotson afterwards archbishop, held the same language to him. Echard.—Our loyal and experienced prelate, Morley, previously to his death, had sent a message to James, then duke of York, cautioning him not to rely, in practice, upon the speculative tenet of passive obedience; on which the latter answered, that Morley was a very good man, but old and timorous. Dalrymple's Memoirs, Appen. p. 289.

(3) See the letters of the earl and countess of Sunderland to king William, in Dalrymple's Memoirs, in which they make a merit, that the former, who was secretary of state, had deceived his master, and driven him on to extremes.

famous declaration of liberty of conscience, and he lost the crown, for himself and for the House of Stewart, by the attempt. (1) To fall in such

(1) It is admitted that the declaration for liberty of conscience, and the prosecution of the seven bishops, for refusing to publish it, were the chief occasion of James's deposition.—At the distance of more than a century, and after an interval of five reigns, when his present majesty's right to the crown is admitted, and his person almost adored by all ranks of subjects, who are friends to monarchy; it may be permitted to look back upon the alleged tyranny and oppressions of the unfortunate James II. with the impartiality and coolness which ought to accompany the discussion of historical facts in general. But to form an equitable judgment in this case, we must compare the conduct of James, not with that of succeeding monarchs, when the constitution was defined, if not changed; but with the practice of those who had preceded him, especially since they had become the supreme governors of the established church. The general fault of modern writers, in this and in many other causes, is, that they decide upon them by *ex post facto* laws and customs.—The unpopular James then did not, like the popular Elizabeth, assert that it was *presumption to say what the royal prerogative could not do in the plenitude of its power;* but he consulted his twelve judges concerning the extent of it, and, in conformity with their advice, he barely suspended the execution of the penal laws against Catholics, in certain cases, as his brother, his father, his grandfather, and even Elizabeth herself had done; and permitted certain persons of that persuasion, with whose integrity and patriotism he was well acquainted, to serve in his army, without taking the oath of supremacy: in the spirit of that clause in the act itself, enjoining the oath, 5th of Eliz. chap. 1, which exempts Catholic peers from taking it, on the self same ground, that of their loyalty being incontestable. He did not devise articles of faith, to be maintained by his subjects, at the peril of their lives, as Henry VIII. had done; he did not dictate the sermons, which his bishops were to preach, like protector Somerset; he did not suspend all preaching, until he himself had made his choice of a religious system, and then overthrow that which he had sworn at his coronation to maintain, with Elizabeth; nor did he deprive the bishops of their sees, or their jurisdiction, because they did not agree with himself in opinion or practice, as had been more or less the case in every one of the reigns mentioned or alluded to above; he only required of the prelates that, whilst he supported them in their offices and dignity, they should concur with him, in allowing liberty of conscience to his subjects in general. Finally, he did not arbitrarily seize upon the religious establishments and bishoprics, and, by force and fraud oblige thousands to perjure themselves, in surrendering them up to him; nor turn out the heads as well as members of a whole college or hospital at a time, to make place for judges or for prisoners, or issue peremptory orders to church dignitaries, to put their wives out of their houses, nor place prebendaries in the pillory, *by his special command*, nor frame new injunctions and ecclesiastical laws, at his own discretion; all which

a cause was worthy of a king; but he degraded himself by taking part in many of the lesser and subordinate disputes, which were at that time going forward. One of these, namely, that concerning the nomination of a president to Magdalen college, Oxford, was referred to the bishop of this see, as visitor of it: by whose authority Dr. Hough was confirmed in that office. It is possible that Farmor, whom the king had appointed to it, might be an objectionable person, in some other respect; but to pretend a scruple of conscience, at electing a Catholic, grounded on the statutes of the founder, our old bishop Waynflete, of the same religion, was the height of hypocrisy and absurdity. (1) Besides, by the act of supremacy, which the fellows had sworn to, and which the king was not permitted to lay aside; he enjoyed a paramount visitatorial power, to correct and reform their statutes, as well as every other branch of the ecclesiastical state, according to his own judgment and discretion. (2)

things, with others of the same nature, had been the practice in some instance or other, from the beginning of the reformation, down to his own accession, as we have shewn above: he only claimed his right of naming to all ecclesiastical livings, small as well as great, in favour of those whom he chose to reward; a right which the records of colleges will prove to have been claimed and exercised by kings of the Brunswick line, no less than by those of more ancient date, in defiance of the same objections which were urged by the fellows of Magdalen college, Oxford, to defeat the king's nomination, first of Farmor, and then of the bishop of Oxford, to be their president.

(1) By the tenor of their statutes, Dr. Hough and the other fellows were bound to pray for their deceased founder, to say mass, to observe celibacy, &c. &c. For their non-observance of these articles they could have no plea, but the dispensation of the crown, by virtue of its supremacy.

(2) One gentleman, promoted by James II. in the ecclesiastical line, though his name does not occur in our ordinary histories, was a native of this city, where his family continued to possess an ancient house in St. Peter's-street, together with a considerable estate in the adjoining country, until they transferred the same by marriage into the Sheldon family. This was Dr. James Smith, president of the English college of Douay, and nominated by king James to be one of the first four apostolical vicars in England, with the title of bishop of Chalcedon, and an allowance of 1000*l.* per ann. He conducted himself with great circumspection and prudence, after the revolution; nevertheless a nobleman who resided in the neighbourhood of bishop Smith, in Yorkshire, understanding that he was possessed of a

The prelate to whom we have alluded above, was Peter Mews, LL.D. who had been an officer in the army of Charles I. during the whole time of the rebellion. (1) At the death of that prince he went to Holland, and continued in the service of Charles II. by whose favour, at the restoration, having taken orders, he was advanced to many church dignities; amongst others, to the united sees of Bath and Wells, from which, a little before the death of that prince, he was translated to the superior bishopric of Winchester. Being an ardent loyalist, he could not, upon the breaking out of Monmouth's rebellion, withstand the temptation of proving his ancient military courage and skill; and appears to have commanded the king's artillery at the battle of Sedgemore, and to have contributed greatly to the success of that day. (2) He was not more beloved, amongst those of his own sentiments, for his loyalty and courage, than for his hospitality and integrity. (3) He lived until the sixth year of the last century, when he died at Farnham castle, aged 89, and was buried in the Angel Guardian chapel of his cathedral, where his episcopal insignia are still displayed. (4)

valuable crosier, and presuming that every kind of violence was lawful against a Catholic, stopped him upon the road, and finding the crosier in his baggage, carried it off in triumph, and deposited it in the treasury of York Minster, where it is shewn at the present day.

(1) Richardson, De Præsul. Gale.
(2) Gale. Guthrie's Hist. of England, vol. IV.
(3) Gale.
(4) See our Survey.

CHAP XIV.

Winchester sinks into Obscurity at the Revolution.—In Queen Ann's Reign the Cathedral is embellished.—Sir Jonathan Trelawney succeeds to this Bishopric.—Improvements in the City.—Dr. Trimnel and Dr. Willis successively promoted to this See by George I.—The King's Palace turned into a Prison of War in the Reign of George II.—Encampment of Hessians near this City.—Conclusion of the Succession of the Bishops of Winchester, Bishop Hoadley, Bishop Thomas, and Bishop North.—The Navigation of the River Itchen thrown open to the Public in the Reign of his present Majesty.—The City new paved.—Various public Buildings erected.—Different Depredations on Monuments of Antiquity.—Civil, social, and natural Advantages of Winchester.

IN proportion as we approach to the transactions of our own times, our task becomes less easy and less pleasing. We begin to be more directly entangled in the prejudices and passions of our contemporaries, with which the historian has, properly speaking, nothing to do, except by exhibiting to them his faithful mirror of past times; whilst the antiquary, finding nothing for his torch to illuminate, and habituated to scenes of greater splendour and virtue, looks down to what is passing at the present day, as upon little and vulgar occurrences. What, however, tends to relieve us from this embarrassment is, that if we were disposed to be prolix, this city furnishes but few particulars since the Revolution, worth relating, and those of a detached nature.

In the reign of king William, Winchester sunk into great obscurity. It is a proof in how little estimation it was held, that it became a second title to the town of Bolton, in the Paulet family. For the then marquis of

Winchester, whose name was Charles, indignant at the little notice which had been taken by the Stewarts of his father's distinguished loyalty and losses in their cause, had changed both his politics and religion; (1) and became one of the chief promoters of the Revolution. King William did not neglect him, as king Charles had done; but gave him the lieutenancy of this county, and created him, as we have signified, duke of Bolton. (2) In the reign of queen Ann, the established church every where making fresh efforts to regain its former strength and splendor, which had been considerably impaired by the Revolution; great sums of money were laid out in improving and decorating the cathedral of this city. The altar screen, in particular, was charged with those numerous Grecian vases, which now incongruously fill the Gothic nitches, where formerly the statues of apostles and other saints had stood. The expence of this and other works had been provided for by the last will of Dr. William Harris, prebendary of the cathedral, and head master of the college, who died in 1700. (3) About the same time an episcopal throne was erected at the south east end of the choir, which, however elegant in its kind, labours under the same defect as the ornaments above mentioned; namely, that the Corinthian order, in which it is built, is ill assorted with the Gothic stile of the remaining part of the choir. The expence of the latter work appears to have been defrayed by the bishop, who then filled the see, and who also completed the palace of Wolvesey, which Morley had not lived to finish. (4) This was sir Jonathan Trelawney, a baronet of Cornwall, who having been an active supporter of royalty under Charles II. was raised by king James to the see of Bristol. He was one of the seven bishops who opposed the reading of the declaration of liberty of conscience; all of whom refusing to give bail for their appearance to answer the king's suit, or even to stand bail for one another, they were committed prisoners to the Tower; from which, however, they were soon after delivered by a verdict of their jury.

(1) Dalrymple's Memoirs, Append. Peerage. (2) Peerage.
(3) He left 800*l.* for this purpose. See his epitaph in the Cathedral. Gale, Hist of Cath.
(4) Gale, p. 32, 26. Magna Brit.

Having taken this step, the aforesaid prelate followed it up by joining in the Revolution: unlike a majority of his late fellow prisoners, who inconsistently, though conscientiously, refusing to sanction a measure, which they had been instrumental in effecting, lost their bishoprics and other church livings. (1) The see of Exeter becoming becoming vacant, in consequence of the translation of Lamplugh, by king James, to the archbishopric of York, in reward for his preaching against the prince of Orange, (2) then actually landed at Torbay, (with whom, however, Lamplugh soon after formed a coalition): (3) sir Jonathan Trelawney was promoted to it by the prince; and thence, in the year 1706, he was further promoted to this bishopric. (4)

The improvement of the church was not alone attended to, in the reign of queen Ann. The guildhall was also then rebuilt, and an elegant statue of that princess was erected in the front of it, at the expence of George Bridges, esq. of the illustrious family of the dukes of Chandos, and at that time member of parliament for this city; the other member, sir William Paulet, presenting the city clock. It is even said that the queen, who visited this city upon her marriage with the prince of Denmark, (5) and who procured the king's house, together with Kensington palace, and a yearly income of 10,000*l.* to be settled upon him, caused an estimate to be made of the sums requisite to finish the royal building; but the expence of the great continental war, and the premature death of the prince, seem once more to have defeated the prospect of Winchester's prosperity.

King George I. successively translated to this valuable bishopric, Charles Trimmel, from the see of Norwich, in 1721, and upon his death in 1723, bishop Willis, who had before worn the mitres of Gloucester and Salisbury.

(1) Viz. Sandcroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Kenn, bishop of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; White, of Peterborough; together with two other bishops, Lloyd, of Norwich, and Frampton, of Gloucester.

(2) Richardson. Contin. Godwin, De Præsul. (3) Ibid. (4) Gale.

(5) Magna Brit. (6) Ibid.

The latter had formerly been chaplain to king William, by whom he was greatly admired for his talent of extempore eloquence.(1) He died in 1734, and was buried in his cathedral, where the most finished statue that it contains perpetuates his form and features.

In the reign of his late majesty, the first county hospital was opened for Hampshire in this city.(2) About the same time a new establishment of another sort was formed here, which seemed to put a final period to the fond hopes which its inhabitants had ever cherished, of its becoming once more a royal residence. At the breaking out of the seven years war, a prodigious number of French prisoners having been taken, and government being distressed for proper places to confine them in; the king's house was pitched upon for this purpose, and degraded into a prison of war, where no fewer than 5000 men were confined. Soon after that event, the French threatening this country with an invasion until government was seriously alarmed for its safety, and an army of Hessians being brought over to defend it, under an idea that it was incapable of defending itself, one division of that army, to the amount of 7000 men, was encamped close to this city, until lord Chatham taking the reigns into his hands, sent home those mercenary troops, and proved that England, instead of dreading invasion, was in a condition to carry it into the country of the enemy.

The only bishop who was raised to the see of Winchester by George II. was the famous Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, the great champion of what is called the *low church*. This party gives up all pretensions to divine jurisdiction, the power of the keys, the necessity of ministerial succession, the authority of the convocation, together with the certainty of the 39 articles, and every other tenet which the established bishops of the last century had considered as essential to the idea of a church.(3) That the administration then in place favoured this system, which disarmed the church, and made

(1) Richardson, De Præsul. (2) See our Survey.

(3) See a short and clear account of this system, by C. Norris, M. A. called the Reconciler of the Bangorian Controversy. The celebrated John Law also laid open the consequences of the new system with equal learning and perspicuity.

it a mere tool of the state, is plain from the successive preferments which its great hero met with, namely, the sees of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and lastly that of Winchester, upon the death of Dr. Willis; as also by its taking advantage of his concessions to dissolve the convocation, which has never been allowed by government to proceed to any business since his time. Upon the death of Dr. Hoadley, in 1761, his present majesty bestowed this see upon his tutor, Dr. John Thomas, who was translated hither from the neighbouring see of Salisbury; and who yielding to fate, the present bishop, Brownlow North, uncle to the earl of Guildford, was removed hither from Worcester, in the year 1781.

We have more than once had occasion to remark of how much importance to the prosperity of this city was its ready communication, by means of a navigable canal, with the sea at Southampton. This communication, which had probably existed in the time of the Saxons, was certainly opened by Bishop Lucy, in the reign of king John; and being again obstructed, was restored by the authority of an act of parliament, in the reign of Charles II. An inconveniency, however, had occurred, which was not then foreseen; the property of the river had been almost entirely purchased by one individual, himself a dealer in coals and other heavy commodities, for which water carriage was chiefly requisite. Hence he was enabled to exercise a monopoly of these articles, much to the detriment of this city, and contrary to the spirit of the above-mentioned act. In these circumstances, three spirited merchants of Winchester, (1) being encouraged by the chief inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood, procured, at their own expence, a new act of parliament to be passed, and combated all the legal opposition that was made to the passing of it, by which the navigation was effectually thrown open to the public, without any injury to the proprietor; he being obliged to convey all goods and wares, for the benefit of other persons, as well as for his own, according to certain regulations, and at a reasonable price. (1) The benefit of this measure, which took place in

(1) Viz. Messrs. James Cook, William Meader, and John Moody.

(1) The preamble of the act runs as follows:—" Whereas the right and property, vested

1767, to the city, and to a great proportion of the county, has been incalculable.

Another act of parliament of general utility to Winchester, that for paving, repairing, and cleansing the city and suburbs, was procured in 1770. It was accordingly carried into execution with great spirit, and the pavement completed in the course of the three or four following years; during which a convenient market-house was also built, in a centrical situation: the country dealers having before been obliged to sit in the open street with their butter and other commodities, chiefly round the city cross; which, from that circumstance, obtained the name of the butter cross. A new gaol and bridewell for the county, as likewise a new play-house, have also been erected at Winchester within these few years. It is a melancholy reflection, that edifices of this description should become so frequent and necessary in these times, instead of the churches and abbeys, which our forefathers were employed in building, and that the former should so often occupy the very site of the latter: nevertheless, it is for the advantage and credit of a place, when these become requisite, that they should be executed and regulated in the best manner possible; as happily is the case in our city.(1) In the mean time,

in the undertakers of the navigation of the river Itchen, by 16 and 17 of Charles II. hath by purchases and other means, chiefly devolved upon and centered in one single person, who carries on a considerable trade and commerce in goods, wares, and merchandize, conveyed by water, and who, acting as the sole owner of the said navigation, doth not only demand and impose exorbitant rates and duties for the freight of the same, but frequently refuses to carry and convey coals and such other goods as interfere with his own trade, whereby he has acquired, in a great measure, the monopoly of several of the necessaries of life, to the great damage of several indigent persons, and to the great loss and prejudice of the inhabitants of Winchester, and several other places in the county of Southampton, &c. The act then proceeds to appoint commissioners, with power to regulate the expence of water carriage from the sea to the city, and to oblige the occupiers of the navigation to convey the merchandize of all persons indiscriminately, who shall wish to have the same conveyed by water, &c.

(1) Since the first edition of this work, the front of the goal, consisting of the master's house, &c. has been replaced by a new building of great strength and magnificence, under the directions of the ingenious Mr. Moneypenny. A new prison for the city had been previously built, which is happily proved to be too large for its inhabitants.

several neat and elegant houses and shops have gradually arisen in different parts of the city, but most of them in such a curvilineal direction, that as the buildings of former times are distinguished by the Saxon, the Norman, the plain Gothic, the ornamental Gothic, the florid Gothic, the Fantastic, (1) and the Grecian styles; so the erections of the present reign will probably be denoted, by posterity, as the bow-window style: and as this has been produced, not by any principle, either of the beautiful or the sublime, but merely by a passion to see and to be seen, hence they will not fail to pronounce, that vanity was our predominant vice.

It is a misfortune, however, that the value of our venerable antiquities should have sunk in the estimation of our fellow citizens, in proportion as their taste has risen for modern ornaments and improvements. Thus, when they paved their city, instead of repairing its embattled gates, the marks of its dignity, which even Cromwell had spared, they pulled down three out of four of them; as if they were desirous that the entrances into Winchester, at which points the houses are remarkably mean, should present the idea of a paltry village, rather than that of a respectable city. In the same barbarous taste, we see the stupendous military ditches daily filling up, to make flower beds; the majestic walls of flint and stone, interlaced with unfading ivy, which have stood the fury of destructive sieges, and of more destructive time, for so many centuries, unfeelingly demolished, and meanly replaced with vulgar brick masonry. To instance other depredations on our ancient monuments, we have beheld the curious Saxon church and hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, on the hill, pulled down and sold by piecemeal; the enchanting hospital of St. Cross mutilated of one of its wings; (2) the sacred

(1) This the most apposite epithet that occurs to us for that anomalous and absurd style of building, which began to replace the Gothic in the reign of Henry VIII. and continued to overspread the land, until the true Grecian was understood and practised in the reign of Charles I.

(2) We cannot avoid mentioning this mutilation, as antiquaries, though we do not presume to pronounce upon the expediency or necessity of the measure. That this has not proceeded from those base motives, which too often occasion the destruction of ancient monuments, is

ruins of Hyde-abbey dug up to make a receptacle for felons; the episcopal palace of Wolvesey, the joint efforts of Jones's art and Morley's munificence, levelled with the ground; whilst the stupendous ruins of De Blois's Norman castle are at the present moment experiencing the fury of the mattock, in order to furnish materials to mend the roads. In one instance, however, the superior taste and spirit of the lower order of inhabitants have saved an ancient monument, which was at the same time a valuable ornament of Winchester, and a public trophy of its Christianity; of which the barbarism and avarice of certain individuals, in a higher class, had conspired to deprive them. When the pavement was going forward, some of the commissioners, or certain other persons, actually sold the city cross to a gentleman then living in the neighbourhood, (1) who was preparing to remove it, by way of an ornament, into his pleasure grounds; when the inhabitants at large, with a just indignation, drove away the workmen employed for this purpose, as the people of Westminster rose upon the mason, whom the protector, Somerset, had commissioned to take down St. Margaret's church;(1) and thus preserved this curious remnant of ancient art and piety.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned ravages, Winchester can still boast of as venerable and interesting monuments of antiquity, as any city or place in the kingdom. Its venerable cathedral is an inexhaustible source of wonder and information; St. Cross inspires nearly the same awful sentiments; the college necessarily engages the attention of antiquaries, and of the learned in general. But not to anticipate what will form the chief subject of our second part; and to say a word in conclusion, concerning the civil, social, and natural advantages of Winchester; these are certainly very considerable. Placed in the very centre of the county, and not upon the confines of it, as is the case with many other county towns, and containing in itself the

manifest from the present master's whole conduct, who is attentive to the comforts of the poor inhabitants, and to the repairs and embellishments of the ancient structure itself, in a remarkable degree.

(1) The late Mr. Dunmer. (2) See p. 308. note 1.

gaol, bridewell, and hospital of Hampshire, the whole public business of the county is transacted in it: and there is never an interval of many weeks without a great conflux of strangers here on that account, to the great emolument of the inhabitants. The same circumstance accounts for the number of gentlemen of the law who live here. Its cathedral and its college ensure to it the residence of a considerable number of superior clergy, with their families. At present the king's house, being made into barracks, the city may be said to have a regular garrison; there being seldom fewer than 2000 military men in it. This circumstance, though not agreeable to the whole of the inhabitants, is certainly beneficial to the trading part of them. Of late a silk manufacture has been set up in Winchester, which employs a considerable number of the poor; but wool being the natural product of the country, and that by which it acquired opulence, in the Roman, Saxon, and Norman ages, is the only commodity by which it can be rationally expected to attain to the same again. The upper class of inhabitants being well educated, and consisting of fixed residents, who are known to each other, live in the most friendly and social intercourse: unlike those of certain other towns, which being filled with a succession of strangers, they hardly know or can trust their next door neighbours. The lower rank of inhabitants are, in general, better taught and more civil than persons in the same situation in most other places. If they are not so industrious, the fault cannot be said to be their own, until proper work to employ them in is pointed out and set on foot. The provisions, which the neighbouring country produces, are of the very best quality; the covers also abound with game, and the rivers teem with trout and other fish. Situated in the neighbourhood of the sea, and of the best harbours in England, it thence receives, by a short and direct communication, the heavy commodities of other countries, also salt-water fish, wine, and other foreign merchandise. As it is chiefly built on the gradual declivity of a western hill, and on a dry soil, it is, in general, cleanly and convenient to walk in; whilst the smooth turf of the adjoining downs affords the most delightful rides and drives that imagination can form to itself, unrestrained by inclosures, in al-

most every direction, and commanding the most extensive prospects of mountains, forests, rivers, seas, and islands. The air, passing over chalky hills and extensive downs, from whatever point of the compass it is wafted, is as untainted and pure as we conceive the atmosphere to have been originally created. If it is much keener, experience, as well as theory, proves that it is proportionably healthier than upon the neighbouring sea coast, where vapours constantly ascending from the fermenting ooze, at the same time that they warm the air, impregnate it with an infectious miasm. The lofty cliffs, however, of St. Giles's hill, and of the other surrounding hills and downs, protect Winchester from the fierce violence of the winds; at the same time that they form a bold and majestic scene on every side of it. From a similar cause, the waters, whether drawn from the bowels of the earth, or those that intersect and cleanse the city in various rapid streams, are as pure as the air, and nearly as transparent. Few persons have it in their power to choose the place of their residence; and even when this is the case, though fond of life, they are seldom guided, in their choice, by the principles of its preservation and real comforts. For the sake of a little more money they will spend their lives in an atmosphere, which saturated with thick noisome vapours, and for ever agitated with various discordant sounds, is neither fit for respiration, nor for the exercise of any of the human senses. In like manner, for the sake of more pastime, they will dwell upon the surface of a volcano, where the waters, no less than the air, are impregnated with sulphur, useful indeed as a medicine, but unwholesome to persons in health. With respect, however, to the site of Winchester, it follows from what has been already said, that it is one of the best adapted spots in the kingdom for the residence of the human species, as in fact it is one of the first that was inhabited, upon the peopling of our island.

END OF THE FIRST, OR HISTORICAL PART.

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